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A Sketch of the HISTORY OF ORISSA
From 1803 to 1828



Prafulla

G. TOYNBEE

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of
THE HISTORY OF ORISSA

(From 1803 - 1828)

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PART - I

The subjugation of the maritime province of Cuttack formed a part of that glorious campaign under Sir Arthur Wellesley which culminated in the complete overthrow of the Maratha power at the battles of Assai and Argaum. So splendid was the fame of the greater events, that history has of necessity passed over this minor and subsidiary expedition almost in silence. Mere mention is all that has been accorded it. Although, however, it may possess no special importance in the eyes of the general reader, its every detail is full of interest to those who have passed several years in the province of Orissa, and have learned to appreciate and sympathize with its people.

Assembly and composition of the force

The force destined for the expedition against Cuttack assembled at Ganjam in September 1803. It was composed of the 1st Madras Fusiliers, a detachment of Her Majesty's 22nd Regiment, the Bengal 20th Native Infantry, the Madras 9th and 19th Regiments of Native Infantry, and a small force of artillery. The officer originally chosen to command the forces was Lieutenant-Colonel Cambell, but on his being taken dangerously ill, Colonel Harcourt was appointed in his stead. Mr. John Melvill, c.s., accompanied the expedition in the joint capacity, with Colonel Harcourt, of "Commissioner for settling the affairs of Cuttack."

Plan of the campaign

The original plan of the campaign was that the force, after capturing Cuttack and leaving a sufficient number of troops to hold it, should make its way through the Barmul Pass and co-operate with General Sir Arthur Wellesley in Berar. A detachment of 6,216 Bengal troops was to co-operate with those from the south; "of this detachment a body of 854 were collected at Jallasore, to be ready to penetrate into Cuttack as soon as the movements of the principal force should render it necessary; 521 were to take possession of

Balasore; and 1,300 were to occupy a post at Midnapore with a view to support the detachments at Jallasore and Balasore and afford protection to the Company's frontier against any sudden incursion of the Rajah's horse."[1]

March of the troops from Ganjam

The main body of the expedition started from Ganjam on the 8th September 1803 and marched along the coast between the sea and the Chilka Lake. Manikpatna was reached on the 15th, and was abandoned by the Marathas without resistance. It took two days to cross the troops over the mouth of the Chilka Lake; and had the enemy made a determined stand there, our position would have been one of considerable danger and difficulty. In consideration of the services rendered on this occasion by Fatteh Mahomed, Jagirdar of Malud, the Commissioners granted him a *sanad* entitling him and his heirs for ever to hold his lands exempt from assessment, and this grant was formally confirmed by Section 34, Regulation XII of 1805.

Arrival at Pooree

Leaving Narsinghpatna on the 18th, the British force entered Pooree on the same day, without encountering and opposition from the enemy. Deeming it advisable to push on as fast as possible, Colonel Harcourt halted only two days in the holy city, and told off a small detachment of Hindu sepoys for the protection of the temple of Jagannath and the riches it was supposed to contain.

March to Cuttack

The march of the remainder of the troops was resumed on the 20th September; and now the real difficulties of the expedition began. There were no roads; the cart tracks which did duty as such were rendered almost impassable by water and mud. From beginning to end they were little better than quagmires. It was with the greatest difficulty that the guns and supplies could be dragged along. The enemy, though not daring to come to actual

close quarters, threw out skirmishers and impeded the progress of our troops by every means which their superior knowledge of the country put in their power. Their cavalry hovered around to cut off stragglers. It was necessary therefore to proceed with the utmost caution. Mukandpur, though distant only about twenty miles from Pooree, was not reached until October 4th.

First action with the enemy at Mukandpur

Here our troops first came into actual contact with the enemy. In vastly superior numbers they attacked the advanced guard, but were repulsed with considerable loss and made good their retreat into the jungles of Khurdha, intending probably to make a *detour* and reach Cuttack before the British troops.

Arrival of the force at the Katjuri, and detention there

At any rate the march of the latter was not again opposed; and as the country was now more passable than that though which they had just come, they reached the banks of the Katjuri a few days after the action at Mukandpur. Here a fresh difficulty arose. The person in charge of the ferry, to whom the Marathas had granted a *jagir* on condition of his supplying and keeping in repair a sufficient number of boats, was nowhere to be found. Alarmed at the approach of the English, he had fled and concealed both himself and the boats. The troops therefore halted in the mango groves which lined the right or southern bank of the river, in sight of the object of their expedition. At length a boatman in the employ of the *jagirdar* came forward and provided the necessary means of crossing the river. For this service he was put in temporary possession of the *jagir*, and on the death of the original grantee, was confirmed in it.

Capitulation of Cuttack – October 10th 1803

The troops crossed over in safety and entered the town of Cuttack on the 10th October 1803. It immediately capitulated. The British force then encamped on the northern or left bank of the Katjuri. Tradition still relates that the inhabitants of the town fled in alarm to Tanghi, ten miles north of the Mahanadi, and did not return

until the proclamation issued by the Commissioners inspired them with confidence in the new rule. Their fears were probably aroused by the restrictions which it was deemed necessary to impose on their personal liberty, and which were not completely removed until November 1805. Had the bulk of the inhabitants been hostile to our cause and attacked our rear, or fired on our troops from the houses as they marched through the town to storm the fort, the position would have been a critical one. Every precaution having been duly taken to guard against any such contingency, preparations for the storming of the fort were at once commenced.

Sterling's description of Fort Barabati

We will leave the reader to imagine these in progress while we quote from Sterling a description of the building against which they were directed. At page 27 of his historical account of Cuttack *[2], he says: "The only monument of the Gajpati Rajas which their ancient capital exhibits, is the Fortress of Barabati, built probably in the 14th century by Raja Anang Bhim Deo, the last of the independent sovereigns of Orissa. Others refer it back to a period as early as the times of the Kesari dynasty. However that point may stand, its square sloping towers or bastions, and general style, bespeak a Hindu origin. The Mahamadan or Maratha governors added a round bastion at the north-western angle and constructed the great arched gateway in the east face, which alterations are alluded to in a Persian inscription, giving for the date of the repairs and additions the year 1750 A.D. The fort has double walls built of stone, the inner of which enclose a rectangular area of 2,150 by 1,800 feet. From the centre of the fort rises a huge square bastion or cavalier supporting a flag-staff. This feature, combined with the loftiness of the battlements on the river-face, give to the edifice an imposing castellated appearance; so much so that the whole, when seen from the opposite bank of the Mahanadi, presented to the imagination of M. LaMotte, who travelled through the province in 1767 A.D., some resemblance to Windsor Castle."

Present condition of the Fort at Cuttack

There is but little in the present appearance of the fort which answers to the above description. The Public Works Department have converted this fine building into an unsightly series of earthen mounds, and the ground within the moat into a wilderness of stone-pits. The stones composing the walls of the moat which surrounds the fort are now being used to build a hospital. Some of the fort stone was, I believe, used for the lighthouse at False Point and for other public buildings; the dust of the rest is shaken off our feet against us on the station roads. The "great arched gateway of the eastern face," as Sterling calls it, and a fine old mosque, called after Fatteh Khan Raham, are almost the only objects of antiquarian interest which remain intact. The fate of many interesting ruins in the province has unhappily been similar.

Storming of the Fort – October 13th 1803

The following account of the storming of the fort on the 14th September is taken *verbatim* from the historical record of the 1st Madras European Fusiliers.*[3] "The fort, strongly built of stone and surrounded by a wet ditch varying from 35 to 135 feet in breadth, had only one entrance, with a very narrow bridge leading over the ditch to it. Batteries were completed, on the night of the 13th, 500 yards from the south face of the fort, and commenced firing early the following morning. By 11 A.M, all the defences had been knocked off and the guns of the fort silenced. The storming party, consisting of a detachment from Her Majesty's 22nd Regiment and the Madras European Regiment, 400 sepoys from the Bengal 20th Native Infantry, the Madras 9th and 19th Native Infantry, and some artillery men, with a six-pounder to blow open the gate, advanced to the attack. The bridge was quickly passed under a heavy fire from the fort, but it was nearly forty minutes before the wicket was blown sufficiently open to admit one man. The Europeans passed in singly, and with such rapidity that, notwithstanding the resistance

at the inner gates, they entered with the garrison, who, after a very severe loss, abandoned the fort."

Capture of the Town of Balasore – September 21st 1803

Equal success attended the expedition against the town of Balasore, which as mentioned in page 1, was despatched from Bengal. The troops and stores were conveyed in vessels to within four miles of the town where they were landed. The fort, which consisted only of a wall, and the ruined English factory which had been taken possession of by the foujdar, were captured after a long contest, but with little loss on the part of the assailants. I quote the following extract from Mill's History of British India, Volume III, p. 652– "Of the other detachments, that appointed to take possession of Balasore had there landed on 21st September, and soon overcame all the resistance by which it was opposed. The detachment formed at Jallasore left that place on 23rd September, and on 4th October arrived without opposition at Balasore. On the 10th of that month a force of 816 men marched from Balasore by order of the Governor-General to aid Lieutenant-colonel Harcourt in the reduction of Cuttack."

Reduction of the interior-Kujang-Kanika

After the three principal towns in the province had fallen into our hands, a part of the force was, in pursuance of the original plan of the campaign, despatched under Major Forbes to force the Pass of Barmul. Colonel Harcourt with another detachment marched against Kujang by way of Patamundai. The Raja of that place had been detected carrying on a correspondence with the Rajas of Khurdha and Kanika with a view of entering into a triple alliance, offensive and defensive, against the British authority. The same good fortune attended our arms in this expedition as had attended them in those which preceded it. The Raja of Kujang fled as soon as he received tidings of the near approach of the troops. His elder brother, whom he had kept a close prisoner at the fort of Paradip, was released and placed on the throne and a large reward was

offered for the apprehension of the fugitive, who was captured shortly afterwards and confined in the fort at Cuttack. His fortifications were all dismantled, and the cannon found in them carried away to Cuttack. Among them Colonel Harcourt was not a little surprised to find two brass guns, nearly new, which bore the stamp of the Honorable East India Company. How these came into the Raja's possession was, I believe, never ascertained. It is probable, however, that they were received from the wreck of some ship which had either been driven on shore or attacked and captured by pirates. The former is the more probable supposition, as during the times of the Marathas that part of the coast is said to have been infested by wreckers who decoyed vessels on to the shore.

Before returning to Cuttack, Colonel Harcourt completed the success of his expedition by reducing to submission the turbulent Rajas of Kanika and Harishpur. Their forts were also demolished, and the guns found in them taken away. In carrying out these measures no resistance was met with ; and they were undertaken more with a view of impressing the people with a sense of the strength of the British arms, than from the necessity of putting down any serious armed opposition.

Major Forbes forces the Pass of Barmul

While these events were taking place on the eastern frontier of the province, the detachment under Major Forbes had penetrated through the hilly and jungly country which bounds it on the west and reached the Pass of Barmul, the key to Berar and the Central Provinces. Here the enemy made a last stand, but on the 2nd November the Pass was forced, and, completely broken and defeated, they escaped with difficulty across the hills. The Rajas of Bod and Sonpur came in consequence of this event and tendered their submission to the British Government.

Conclusion of peace

Meanwhile Colonel Harcourt was approaching from the east with the intention of effecting a junction with Major Forbes and

leading the combined force through the Pass to co-operate with General Sir Arthur Wellesley in the Berars; but news having come that peace had been concluded both with Scindia and the Nagpur Raja, the troops marched back to Cuttack, and the force was broken up early in 1804, the European regiments returning to Masulipatam. Colonel Harcourt had now time to devote his attention more exclusively to civil affairs. Of the measures taken by him and his colleague, Mr. Melvill, to place the civil administration of the province on a satisfactory footing, mention has been made in another place.

Rebellion of the Raja of Khurdha – His defeat, capture, and imprisonment –1804

They were interrupted towards the close of the year 1804 by the events which led to the deposition and capture of the Raja of Khurdha and his confinement in the fort of Cuttack. This prince, though stripped of a considerable slice of his original territory, had been left by the Marathas in comparative independence within his own *Killa*. This indeed was more a matter of necessity than of choice, for although their cavalry easily overran the parganas of Rahang, Sarain and Chaubiskud, they could not penetrate into the jungle fastnesses of Khurdha proper; nor did their infantry care to encounter on their own ground the paiks or local militia, who were little, if at all inferior to them in the open. The parganas above mentioned became therefore a bone of contention and the scene of mutual recriminations and devastations. The unfortunate inhabitants, fearful of espousing either side, suffered equally by the ravages and depredations of both. When we took the province in 1803, the Raja passively espoused our cause and tendered his allegiance to the British Government, doubtless in the hope that these parganas would be restored to him. The Commissioners, however, decided to retain them, as they had been taken by us from the Marathas, who were in actual possession of them at the time of the British conquest. Though this decision was at the time silently acquiesced in by the Raja, it was a source of bitter

disappointment to him. When the European troops had returned to Madras, and the native force which remained at Cuttack had been considerably reduced in numbers by the necessity of establishing detached outposts in different parts of the country, he thought that a favourable opportunity had arrived for recovering his lost territory. As a tentative measure he sent one of his servants in July 1804 to collect the rents of a village named Batgaon, lying within the Mughalbandi- a term used originally to denote the lands set apart for the revenue of the reigning power, but which subsequently came to mean the territory assessed in detail and paying revenue to Government, as distinguished from that which paid only a fixed lump sum as tribute, and which is now known as the Tributary States. In other words, the former were crown lands, the latter the fiefs of military chiefs, who exercised unlimited sway within their own territories, but tendered their allegiance and paid tribute to the ruling power in the province. The Raja's servant was summarily ejected, and the Commissioners addressed to his master a strong remonstrance, with a warning against the repetition of any similar act of "presumption and unprovoked aggression." This warning appears to have had but little effect. In September of the same year (1804) the Raja was detected in an intrigue relative to the affairs of the Pooree temple. He was therefore forbidden to issue orders on any person whatever residing within the limits of Mughalbandi territory without the express sanction of the Commissioners. In October, exactly one month after the issue of this order, the Raja's troops- if a disorderly mob of paiks and peons can so be called- made a raid on the villages in the vicinity of Pipli and carried off all the cattle and other movable property on which they could lay hands. This affair, though partaking more of the nature of a large dacoity than of an organised and preconcerted military aggression, nevertheless occasioned considerable alarm. This was not perhaps, under the circumstances, unnatural. The majority of our forces had returned to Madras, and what few troops remained behind, were scattered over a considerable area. The nature of the country rendered speedy communication and rapid

concentration impossible. There was, moreover, a lurking suspicion that the Marathas might be in secret league with the Raja to harass, if not to overthrow, the British authority. The Commissioners therefore determined to be on the safe side, and to prevent, by prompt and decisive steps, these raids from growing into anything more serious. Troops were sent for from Ganjam, and a detachment marched from Cuttack as soon as the necessary supplies could be procured. The Collector was ordered, if he could not get them in the open market, to compel the zamindars to furnish them. The rebels being quickly driven out of Pipli, retreated to the fort at Khurdha, followed by our troops. This fort, the ruins of which still remain, was situated at the foot of a hill at the east end of the valley of Khurdha. The approaches from the south lay through a difficult Pass between the Baroni hills (where the Raja had a *put*, or place of concealment, to which he retired on the approach of our troops) and were stockaded and fortified with strong masonry barriers. It was three weeks before we were in a position to carry these works by storm. When this was at length achieved, the Raja's made good his escape southwards with a handful of his followers, the British troops being too exhausted to pursue them. A few days afterwards he gave himself up, and was placed in close confinement in the fort at Cuttack. His territory was confiscated and placed under the charge of Major Fletcher, who erected the first civil buildings at Khurdha. He remained there until November 1805, when he made over charge to the Collector of Cuttack.

General tranquillity of the Province – Distribution of troops

The province now enjoyed a long period of uninterrupted tranquillity. As far as military affairs are concerned, there is not much in the records of the above period worthy of mention. The troops performed garrison duties, varied occasionally by the escort of treasure and stores to out-stations. Besides the larger stations of Pooree, Khurdha, Cuttack and Balasore, subordinate military outposts were also established at Jajipur, Bhadark, and Soro. There were also small guards at Sarangarh near Cuttack, and Balaramgarhi

near Balasore. A provincial battalion was raised in Cuttack, which had its quarters near the site of the new hospital, and did good service in furnishing guards, escorts, & c. It was disbanded in 1807, the efficient sepoys being drafted into the regular regiments of the line. The monotony of military life in the interior of the province was bitterly complained of by the officers, and many strong and rather unofficial expressions of disgust with it are to be found in the postscripts of letters written to the Collector concerning the issue of pay and other similar matters. It was, however, occasionally relieved by incidents which possess, under the circumstances, sufficient importance to entitle them to a passing notice.

Apprehensions of a Maratha invasion – November 1805

In November 1805, for instance, serious apprehensions were entertained of an attack from the west by the Marathas under Nana Saheb, brother of the Raja of Berar. Every one was on the *qui vive*; spies were sent out, provisions laid in, and the troops were held ready to act at a moment's notice. The alarm, however, proved to be groundless.

Supposed attempt by the French on Balasore – December 1806

During December of the following year (1806), Balasore had its little excitement in the shape of a supposed invasion by the French. The particulars of this affair, as given by Captain Maxwell, then commanding at Balasore, in a letter to the Colonel commanding in Cuttack, are as follows: On the 17th December six Europeans landed at Balaramgarhi, a salt *chauki* and Company's factory situated near the mouth of the river Burhabạlang, and inquired of the daroga in charge if water and provisions were procurable, the distance to Balasore, and the number of troops stationed there. After receiving replies to their questions, they returned to a three-masted vessel which lay at anchor some distance from the shore. Soon afterwards two guns were fired. The ship then stood out to sea and was soon out of sight. The authorities at Balasore being unanimously of opinion that she was a French crusier, and that her crew would

make a fresh attempt to land, sent a party of sepoys to lie in wait at Balaramgarhi and capture and bring to Balasore any person who should come on shore. Warning was at the same time sent, with guards of sepoys, to the customs officers at Dhamra and Churaman. On the evening of the 19th December two Europeans landed in a dinghy at Balaramgarhi, and were at once pounced upon by the party lying in ambuscade. On being brought before Captain Maxwell, who not unnaturally connected them with the party which had landed there on the 17th, they gave their names as Thomas and Curtis, and declared that they were bound for Madras in a country sloop laden with rice, and had only landed to procure fresh water. As they had no papers, they were detained in custody. The mystery of the former occurrence was cleared up next day by the arrival at Balasore of the mate of the other vessel. He produced the ship's papers and explained that they had anchored off Balaramgarhi not knowing the navigation of the Bay of Bengal and being in want of a pilot. The Governor General in Council ordered the two men who had been detained to be forwarded to Calcutta in their own vessel. A sarang was engaged to navigate it, and a naik and six sepoys were sent in charge of them. They reckoned however without their host. As soon as the sloop got clear of the river, the Europeans overpowered the guard, threw four of them overboard, and sailing off to the south, were never again (as far as I can discover) either seen or heard of, though information was at once sent to the southern ports. There is something extremely ludicrous in the idea of two European loafers thus setting aside the orders of the Governor-General in Council. The incident has also its serious side, as showing how insecure our footing in the province was felt to be during the first few years of our occupation of it, and how, isolated as they were from each other, our officers were wont to magnify trivial circumstances into matters of more serious import.

A curious court-martial

Before proceeding to the relation of the more important military events of 1817-18, I shall mention one more incident, illustrative

rather of social than of public life, merely promising that as the matter was officially reported to the Govornor-General in Council, it can hardly be deemed too trivial to find entry in these notes. It occurred at Pooree in 1807, and was on this wise. One Nuran, wife of a syce in the employ of an officer stationed at Pooree, had a quarrel with Lieutenant L's mehtrani. The latter, to revenge herself on her enemy, told "Bibi L." that Nuran had accused her of improper intimacy with Lieutenant H. The train thus artfully laid was not long in taking fire. A naik and three sepoys appeared before Nuran's house, seized her, and carried her off to the quarter-guard. Here she was kept under close arrest for three days ; at the end of this period she was carried to the house of Lieutenant H. and brought before a native court-martial there assembled to try her, and of which Lieutenant H. and L. constituted themselves presidents. She was convicted (on what charge is not stated) and sentenced to have her hair cut off. After this operation had been duly and publicly performed, she was to be drummed through the sepoy lines to beyond the Athara Nala Bridge and formally banished the town. The proceedings of the court having been submitted to Lieutenants H. and L., were by them duly confirmed. The sentence was then carried out to the very letter. What the Governor-General in Council thought of the proceedings, and what orders were passed on the officers concerned in them, is not recorded in the books of letters received or sent between, 1807 and 1828.

Relations between civil and military officers

The civil and military officers do not appear to have been during these early times on very cordial terms. The records teem with mutual complaints and recriminations, and these squabbles were naturally carried to a certain extent into private life. The military complained that the troops were not properly supplied with provisions; the civilians retorted that the sepoys paraded the town at night, and, setting all law and authority at defiance, attacked the police – whenever they attempted to interfere.

Threatened raid by the Pindaris in 1816

These matters, however, gradually righted themselves, and nothing worthy of note occurred until the year 1816, when Cuttack was thrown into a state of considerable alarm by the news of a threatened incursion of the Pindaris from the south. Bands of these marauders had entered the Ganjam territory, and after plundering and pillaging to the very walls of the capital, had made good their escape with a considerable booty before the British troops could come up with them. A rumour got abroad, for which there appears to have been some foundation, they intended to plunder the temple at Pooree and then make a raid on Cuttack. The 2nd battalion of the 18th Regiment Native Infantry was at once despatched to the former place ; another detachment was sent to Khurdha, with the object of cutting off the Pindaris should they attempt to escape by that route. In Cuttack itself considerable preparations were made, and a plan of defence, in case of any attack on the town, was arranged by the civil and military authorities in consultation. The Magistrate engaged as many matchlockmen as he could procure. These were to be stationed on the tops of the houses in the principal streets, and were to fire on the Pindaris as they passed. Trenches were to be dug and breastworks thrown up at the entrances to all the narrow lanes in the town, and a sum of sicca Rs.2,000/- was advanced to the bazar chaudhari to procure supplies. In the midst of these preparations news came that the Pindaris had been defeated by the Madras troops in several encounters, and had been dispersed in all directions. In one of these actions Lieutenant Borthwick with only 50 men came suddenly upon a body of them nearly a thousand strong, and so took them by surprise that they fled precipitately, leaving the greater part of their booty in his hands. This defeat at once put an end to the alarm which had been occasioned by their threatened raid into Orissa.

The Khurdha rebellion – A.D. 1817–18

It was not long, however, before we had to encounter a storm, which burst with such sudden fury as to threaten our expulsion, if

not from the whole of Orissa, at least from the territory of Khurdha. This was the rebellion of the paiks, a kind of local militia, to whom the English conquest had brought little but ruin and oppression.

Sterling's description of the paiks

The causes of the rebellion will be adverted to in another place, but it will be convenient to quote here a description by Sterling of the enemy which our arms had now to encounter. Rude and contemptible as this new foe undoubtedly was in comparison with our native troops, the nature of the country and their intimate knowledge of it gave them an advantage which rendered the contest more equal than it would otherwise have been. Sterling says at page 38 of his historical account of Cuttack, "The paiks, or landed militia of the Rajwara, combine with the most profound barbarism and the blindest devotion to will of their chiefs a ferocity and unquietness of disposition which have ever rendered them an important and formidable class of the population of the province. They comprehend all castes and classes, chiefly perhaps the chasa or cultivating tribe. Occasionally individuals of the lowest cast are found among them, as konduras, pans and bowris [*4](Sans. 'berber', barbarian) and the fashion has often prevailed of adopting into their own order some of the more savage inhabitants of remote hills, called khands, as also even musalmans and telingas. It is well known they are paid by service lands, which they cultivate with their own hands in time of peace, subject to the performance of military and rude police duties whenever called on by their chiefs. Abulfazl states the number of paiks or zamindari militia (in the original *sipah-i-zamindari*) liable to be required for the service of the State, according to the condition of the tenure of the zaminders, at about 155,000[*5] for the present districts of Cuttack and Midnapore, which probably formed but a small part of the entire force maintained by these chiefs. The paiks of this part of the country are divided into three ranks, distinguished by names taken from their occupation or the weapons which they chiefly use, viz.-

" Ist. The paharis, who carry a large shield made of wood covered with hide and strengthened by knobs and circles of iron, and the long straight national sword of Orissa called the khanda. They are stationed chiefly as guards.

"2nd. The banua, who use the matchlock principally now (in lieu of their old missile weapons), but have besides a small shield and sword. It was their duty to take the field principally and go on distant expeditions.

"3rd. The dhenkiyas, who are armed with bows and arrows and a sword, and perform all sorts of duties. The war dress of the paiks consists, or did consist, of a cap and a vest made of the skin of the tiger or leopard, a sort of chain armour for the body and thigh, and a girdle formed of the tail of some wild animal. Besides the terror inspired by these unusual habiliments, they further heightened the ferocity of their appearance by staining their limbs with yellow clay and their countenance with vermilion, thus exhibiting altogether as savage and fantastic an air as one can well conceive to invest the national army of any country or people. However wild and motley their appearance and composition, they certainly did not fight badly when encouraged at least by the proximity of their jungles, since we find them sustaining the most bloody battles with the Mughals; and it may be doubted whether they were not superior to any infantry which the Berar Marathas ever brought into the field during their government of the province." It is clear that a body of local landed militia of this kind might have been made a tower of strength to the British Government had liberal and conciliatory measures been adopted from the first ; but by a fatal and short-sighted policy Major Fletcher had been allowed to resume their service lands shortly after the confiscation of the Khurdha estate. Nor was this all. Deprived thus of the lands which they had enjoyed from time immemorial, they were subjected to the grossest extortion and oppression at the hands of the farmers, sarbarakars, and other underlings to whom our Government entrusted the collection of the revenue, and also to the tyrannies of a corrupt and venal police."[6]

Jagabandhu, the leader of the rebellion

In this state of affairs a leader was all that was required to fan the lurking embers of rebellion into open flame. The opportunity produced the man in the person of Jagabandhu Bidyadhar Mahapatra Bhowanbir Rai ; and as he played so important a part in the events which followed, I make no apology for extracting from a *precis* by Dr.Hunter of Mr. Ewer's report on Khurdha an account of the circumstances which led him to take up arms against the British Government.*[7] The story also serves to illustrate the malpractices of the amla, a subject on which more will be said in Part II. Jagabandhu inherited from his ancestors the post of *bakshi*, or commander of the military of the Raja of Khurdha, being second only to the Raja in rank. Besides *jagirs* and other perquisites appertaining to his rank, the family of Jagabandhu had held for several generations the valuable estate of Killa Rorang at a very low quit rent.

The estate was in Jagabandhu's possession at the time of the cession of Cuttack by the Raja of Berar, but there was some doubt as to whether the better right of possession was vested in Jagabandhu or a cousin of his who claimed it. Jagabandhu was one of the first to proffer submission to Colonel Harcourt in 1803, and the settlement of Killa Rorang was made with him for the first year of the British Administration of the province. In the following year he was allowed to enter into engagements for Mr. Webb's triennial settlement. A Bengali named Krishna Chundra Sinha was the dewan of the first Collector, but he resigned on Mr. Webb's accession to the office in 1805-06, still, however, continuing to reside in Cuttack. His brother, one Gaur Hari Sinha, was tahsildar in charge of the collection of certain khas mahals, which having been fomerly wrested by the Maratha Government from the Rajas of Khurdha, were claimed by no one. On the acquisition of the country by the British, the revenue authorities were anxious to get rid of them by selling them to some man of substance. The ex-dewan, Krishna Chundra Sinha, appeared to have meditated the aggrandisement of his name by acquiring

the zamindari rights of the parganas and by the dispossession of Jagabandhu from his estate of Rorang. At his suggestion Jagabandhu commenced to pay his revenues into the hands of Gaur Hari Sinha, the tahsildar of Pargana Rahang, one of the khasmahals which adjoined Jagabandhu's estate of Rorang. Jagabandhu having paid his revenues to the tahsildar instead of to the Collector, as fomerly, it was easy for the former to represent in his accounts the collections of Rorang as belonging to pargana Rahang. In the Amli year 1215, Pargana Rahang, described as "Rahang *oghaira*," was farmed nominally to one Lakshmi Narayan, the real farmer being Krishna Chundra Sinha. At the end of the following year the pargana, described as before, was advertised for sale and purchased by Krishna Chundra Sinha. The *jama* of Rorang was added to that of Rahang, and under the artful and significant description "*oghaira*" Killa Rorang and some other mahals were formally included in Pargana Rahang. Jagabandhu resisted the attempt of the people of Krishna Chundra Sinha to take possession of his estate ; a riot ensued, and petitions from both sides were brought before the Commissioner, Mr. Buller, and matters remained in abeyance for a long time. The new purchasers being unable to obtain possession, Jagabandhu let his estate in farm for the remaining period of his settlement. Just at this time a suit between Jagabandhu and his cousin was decided by an amicable arrangement to divide the zamindari of Killa Rorang in the proportion of 10 and 6 annas. In 1813 the agents of Krishnna Chandra Sinha boldly stood forward to enter into engagements for Killa Rorang as part of their purchase. Jagabandhu then presented a petition, which occasioned an investigation into his case, and it was proved beyond a question that the annexation was a fraudulent one, and a separation of the two estates was ordered ; but before it could be carried out, it was represented that the original rights of Jagabandhu were questionable, and the Government then (in June 1814) passed an order forbidding any engagements to be taken from him "until he should have established a title to the lands in

the regular course of law." When these orders were communicated, Jagabandhu's complaints were loud and vehement. He was reduced to beggary, and for nearly two years derived his maintenance from the voluntary contributions made by the people of Khurdha for his support, and spent his time in wandering over the scenes of his former consequence. He was constantly attended by a ragged tribe of followers bearing the usual insignia of state pertaining to his former condition. When advised to institute a suit for the recovery of his estate, he ever evinced the greatest repugnance to do so, pleading his want of means, the degradation of suing as a pauper and the inutility of any reference to the court from an Uriya when a rich Bengali was to be the defendant.

First outbreak of the paiks–March 1817

Such was the position of Jagabandhu when in March 1817 a body of Gumsur Khunds, 400 strong,crossed over into the Khurda territory and openly unfurled the banner of revolt. The dalbehras and paiks, under their former leader, rose as one man and joined them. They proceeded to attack the thannah and other Government buildings at Banpur, where they killed upwards of 100 men and carried off some Rs. 15,000/- of Government money. Mr. Becher, the Salt Agent of the southern division, narrowly escaped falling into their hands. His boat on the Chilka Lake was captured and plundered. The rebels then marched on Khurdha itself, increasing in numbers as they proceeded. Their success at Banpur had set the whole country in arms against us, and seeing the hopelessness of resistance, the whole of the Government officers stationed at Khurdha sought safety in a precipitate flight. All the civil buildings were burnt to the ground, and the treasury was sacked. Another body of the rebels advanced into Pargana Limbai, where they murdered one Charan patnaik, a Government servant, who had made himself especially obnoxious to them by reporting to the Collector that Jagabandhu was tampering with the dalbehras.

Measures taken by the authorities

On receipt of intelligence of these events in Cuttack, the authorities lost no time in despatching to the scene of action such a body of troops as they thought would suffice to quell the disturbance and restore order. One detachment, under Lieutenant Prideaux, marched direct to Khurdha ; another, under Lieutenant Faris, proceeded to Pipli to protect the pargana of Limbai.

Mr. Impey proceeds to Khurda and has to retreat

At this time Mr. Impey was Magistrate, and thinking that his presence would help to restore order, he determined to repair to the spot. He set out on April Ist, accompanied by Lieutenant Travis and a detachment of 60 sepoys, with the intention of joining Lieutenant Prideaux at Khurdha. They arrived on the evening of April 2nd at Gangpara distant only about two miles from that place. A barricade had ben erected, which was defended by a considerable body of the rebels. The British troops were fired on, and it was evident that their further progress would be strenuously resisted. It was now growing dark, so a council of war was held, at which it was resolved to halt for the night and attempt to force the stockade early the next morning. A letter was sent off to Lieutenant Prideaux announcing this intention and begging him to march out with his force from Khurdha so as to place the enemy between two fires. Early next morning the messenger returned with the astounding intelligence that the village of Khurdha had been totally destroyed, and that Lieutenant Prideaux was nowhere in the neighborhood. There was nothing for it under the circumstances but to beat a speedy retreat. No provisions had been brought from Cuttack, and none were to be procured on the spot. The sepoys were worn out with hunger and fatigue, and the numbers of the rebels gradually swelled to about 3,000. As soon as the retreat was commenced the enemy opened a brisk fire. This being replied to with effect, the ardour to their pursuit was considerably damped. The English troops kept as much as possible to the open; the paiks, on the other hand,

kept well under cover of the jungles, from which they suddenly emerged now and again to fire on us or to secure whatever of our baggage had been dropped or abandoned in the confusion. The situation was a very critical one, but owing to the judicious dispositions of Lieutenant Travis no loss of life was sustained, and after marching without a halt from 5-30 a.m until 3-30 p.m. of the 3rd April, the troops safely reached Balkati on the Pooree road, and there halted to rest and refresh themselves. While preparing to resume their march at 9-30 p.m., they were again attacked under cover of the darkness by a large body of insurgents; but a well directed volley soon scattered the rebels, and our troops continued their retreat without further molestation. They reached Cuttack on the forenoon of the 4th April *sans* tents, elephants, and every article of heavy baggage which they had taken with them. Mr. Impey wrote to Government as follows:

"This instant returned, after a most fatiguing march of a day and a night, from Khurdha ; I can only write for the information of His Lordship in Council that my retreat was forced, and that the whole of the Khurdha territory is in a complete state of insurrection. The officer who went in command of the party which accompanied the Collector (Lieutenant Faris) has been killed, and the whole detachment driven back to Pipli. The insurgents call upon the Raja, and Jagabandhu issues orders in his name. Their avowed intention is to proceed to Pooree and reconduct him in triumph to his territory." Mr. Impey proceeded to recommend that the Raja of Khurdha (who had been released from the fort in 1807 and allowed to reside at Pooree.) should be removed to Cuttack ; that a reward of Rs.5,000 should be offered for each of his sirdars, and that martial law should be proclaimed.

Movements of Lieutenant Prideaux

We must now return to Lieutenant Prideaux and explain the circumstances which prevented his receiving the letter sent to him by Mr. Impey from Gangpara on the 2nd April. He had received

information that the rebels had attacked and plundered the house of Rani Mukta Dei*8 at Panchgarh, captured her and her dewan, and were advancing under Jagabandhu to attack him with 5,000 men. He also received information that Captain Wallington, who had been despatched with a detachment for the defence of Pooree, had gone on to that place, leaving orders to Lieutenant Faris (whose detachment accompanied the Collector, and had at the latter's suggestion been removed from Pipli to Delang,) to effect a junction with him (Lieutenant Prideaux).

Death of Lieutenant Faris at Gangpara

In pursuance of these orders Lieutenant Faris with 50 sepoys made an attempt to force the rebel position at Gangpara. He was shot dead in the act of leading on his men, a native subahdar was also killed. Two messengers, whom Lieutenant Faris had sent to Lieutenant Prideaux, were captured by the rebels, who cut off their noses and otherwise barbarously maltreated them. Lieutenant Prideaux and the rest of Lieutenant Faris's detachment having lost all their baggage, retreated to Cuttack via Pipli. The latter place fell into the hands of the paiks, who sacked it and burnt the thannah.

Captain Wallington's March to Pooree

Captain Wallington had reached Pooree in safety on April 2nd, and found all quiet there. His progress had not been molested in any way, and he wrote to recommend that a force should be detached for the special duty of following up the rebels and bringing on a decisive action with them. This recommendation was acted on, and on the 9th April Captain LeFevre, with 550 men and a few guns, marched to Khurdha by the route which Mr. Impey and his party had taken in their retreat from that place.

Proclamation of martial law – Capture of Pooree by the rebels

On the 12th April martial law was proclaimed in the Khurdha territory under Regulation X of 1804. On the morning of the same

day a large body of the insurgents assembled at Sukul, a small village near Pooree to the south-west. In the evening they entered the town by the Lokanath Ghat and burnt the Government cutcherry and several other public and private buildings. The houses of the European residents were situated then, as now, on the sea shore, about half a mile from the native town. In these the native officers of Government took refuge. The troops were located in the bungalow of Mr. Becher, the Salt Agent. On the morning of the 13th April the rebels emerged from the jungle which skirted the town on the east and opened a desultory fire on our position. The sepoys returned it, and the contest was continued thus for about two hours. At length, growing exasperated, the sepoys charged the enemy and drove them back helter-skelter into the town, killing fifteen and wounding many more. This success was however only temporary. The insurgents returned in greater numbers, having been reinforced by others of their own party, and being joined by many of the rabble belonging to the temple and to the Raja's private establishment. Some of the inhabitants of the town also joined the rebels. The priests of the temple openly proclaimed the fall of the English rule and the restoration of the authority of the ancient line of sacred kings. Being thus hemmed in on three sides by the insurgents and the sea, it was deemed advisable to beat a speedy retreat to Cuttack by the only road still left open. Provisions were beginning to run short, and it was found impossible to procure a fresh supply. It was important, too, to prevent the Government treasure from falling into the hands of the rebels. Pooree was therefore abandoned, and the fugitives, among whom were Messrs. King and Becher, Salt Agents, and Mr. Busby, the Collector of the pilgrimtax, reached Cuttack in safety on the 18th April.

Extension of martial law

Martial law was at once extended to the towns and neighborhood of Pooree and Pipli, and to the parganas of Limbai and Kotdes. All communication between Cuttack and the southern portion of the province was completely cut off; consequently nothing had been

heard of Captain LeFevre since he left Cuttack on the 9th April, and the greatest apprehensions were entertained for his safety.

Captain LeFevre retakes Pooree and captures the Khurdha Raja

He reached Khurdha without encountering any opposition, but was not able to obtain any reliable information of the plans or movements of the rebels. Hearing, however, that they had gone in great force in the direction of Pooree, he determined to march rapidly on that place. He left Khurdha on the 16th April, and after burning on his way the paik villages of Bajpur and Kadalibari, reached Tapang on the evening of the same day. On the morning of the 17th he reached Kanas, and in the evening crossed the Nuna river and encamped at Nuagaon, a village on its left bank. Continuing the march next morning, he came upon the enemy at Dobanda. They were drawn up about a thousand strong behind the bunds at that place. Captain LeFevre at once unlimbered his guns and opened fire on their position. Two parties were detached to turn their right and left flanks, while he advanced direct with the main body. The rebels, who had never yet encountered so large a force of disciplined troops, and who were entirely ignorant of military tactics, were utterly confounded by this simple manoeuvre. They fled in the wildest dismay and confusion, without striking a blow or offering the slightest resistance. Captain LeFevre lost no time in following up his advantage, and at once pushed on for Pooree, which he reached on the same day (18th April) about 2 p.m. He found to his astonishment that Captain Wallington and all the European officers had been driven out of it, and their bungalows burnt to the ground.The Raja, with sixteen palkis, was on the point of making good his escape when Captain LeFevre arrived. These circumstances prevented him from carrying out his original intention of either following up Jagabandhu, who had retreated towards Banpur, or of retracing his steps to attack his principle Sirdar, Krishna Chandra Bidadhur, who was reported to be at Kanas with a large body of insurgents. Meanwhile orders had been received from the Governor-General in Council to send the

Raja of Khurdha to Calcutta. It was therefore arranged that Major Hamilton should march for Pooree on the 22nd April at the head of a battalion of Native Infantry, with the double object of retaking the town and securing the Raja's person. Before this expedition started news was, however, received from Captain LeFevre that he had already accomplished both these objects. Major Hamilton's march was in consequence delayed until the 28th April.

Major Hamilton takes Sarangarh and marches to Pooree

After crossing the Katjuri he heard that a large force of the insurgents had taken up a position at the fort of Sarangarh.*[9] He therefore made a detour from the road with the object of dislodging them. This was successfully accomplished, and the march resumed. At Pipli three companies were detached under Captain Armstrong to defend the surrounding country and uphold the civil authority which had been reinstated there.

Captain LeFevre returns to Cuttack with the Raja as his Prisoner– Attempt at rescue

On the arrival of Major Hamilton at Pooree, Captain LeFevre started for Cuttack with the Raja as his prisoner. An attempt at rescue was made near Pipli, but Captain Armstrong beat off a body of the insurgents 2,500 strong, and the escort arrived safely in Cuttack on the 11th May. The Raja was placed in close confinement in the fort, where he died on November 30th 1817, and was succeeded by his son, Hari Krishna, a boy of thirteen.

Arrival of the special Commissioners

In May of the same year General Sir Gabriel Martindell arrived at Khurdha as Military Commissioner to try the prisoners of war, and with his was associated shortly afterwards Mr. Walter Ewer, c. s.; their joint duty being to settle the disturbed districts, report on the causes of the outbreak, and suggest measures for the future improvement of the Khurdha estate.

Actions against the paiks in other parts of the district

We have hitherto confined ourselves to the relation of events which took place in the sub-division of Khurdha and that part of the Pooree district (as they exist at present) which more immediately adjoins it. It was here that the insurrection was most formidable, and here therefore that it was at first necessary to concentrate all the military force at our disposal. The rising of the paiks had, however, been pretty general all over the southern and eastern parts of the province. They burnt the thannahs of Asareswar, Tiran, Hariharpur, and Gop, and committed various ravages and excesses in the country surrounding them. But they had in these parts no recognised leader of ability like Jagabandhu in Khurda, though they were secretly encouraged by the Rajas of Kujang and Kanika. Their actions partook more of the nature of those of various bands of dacoits acting independently, than of those of a people striving to rid themselves of a foreign yoke. Though prompt retribution was not under the circumstances possible, they were not to escape altogether without punishment.

Captain Kennet's expedition against the Kujang paiks

It was not, however, until September 1817 that a force could be spared for this purpose. On the morning of the 13th of that month Captain Kennet embarked with a small force on board country boats at Cuttack, and taking advantage of a high flood, reached Paradip at 2 p.m. the next day. The place was stockaded and strongly defended. Some paiks, in smaller and more manageable, boats, fired on our troops and made good their escape. His boats being clumsy and unwieldy, and the current being very strong, Captain Kennet deemed it advisable to run them on shore and disembark his men at once. This done, they advanced against the stockade and carried it by storm. A party under Lieutenant Forrester pursued the rebels into the village, killed fifteen of them, and captured three three-pounder guns, which had been placed to defend the main approach. Two other parties, under Captain Kennet and Lieutenant Wood, also pursued the enemy in other directions, but night coming on,

most of them escaped into the dense jungles of which that part of the country mainly consists. The troops bivouaced in the stockade during the night, and the paiks kept up a desultory and random fire of arrows, which, however, happily did no harm. Next morning Captain Kennet marched with two companies against the village of Nuagarh. The enemy kept up a random fire on the troops from their security in the jungles, but their march was not seriously impeded. All they found at Nuagarh was a quantity of arms, a few cannon, and three elephants. The paiks had evacuated the place and fled to Kujang. Captain Kennet then resolved to proceed to Tiran, but as the intermediate country was swarming with paiks, it was necessary first to bring on an action with them. This he succeeded in doing on the 19th September. Though numbering upwards of 2,000, and though greatly favoured by the nature of the country, they were completely routed. The elephants and eight horses fell into the hands of the victors, and the Raja, deeming it hopeless to continue the struggle further, came in and gave himself up to Captain Kennet on 2nd October. Partly by means of information given by him, and partly by stratagem, Naran Paramguru and Bamadeb Pat Josi, the chief leaders and instigators of the outbreak, were also taken prisoners and carried with the Raja to Cuttack. The latter was imprisoned for one year in the fort, the former were both transported for life. Captain Kennet returned with the majority of the force, leaving Captain Simpson with a few troops to complete the pacification of the country. This did not take long. By the end of October the British authority was completely restored in Kujang, the detachment under Captain Simpson was withdrawn, and military law ceased to be in force.

Affairs at Gop

At Gop the first outbreak occurred in June 1817. The paiks, under Karanakar Sirdar, attacked the thannah and drove the police out of it. The latter gallantly held out for some time in the old fort, but at length, being overpowered by numbers, they escaped to Pipli and invoked the aid of the military there. Captain Faithful at once started off with eighty men *via* Nimapara, and though he found the

thannah burnt and the village deserted, he could discover no signs of the enemy. Captain Baines remained at Gop with a small detachment until the end of October 1817, when a general amnesty was promulgated in the tracts subject to martial law (except Banpur, where it remained in force until April 1818), and the rebellion may be said to have been stamped out. In effecting this result the zamindars of Mirichpur, Harishpur, and Jhankar, rendered the Government valuable assistance and received suitable rewards.

Gradual pacification of the country

It must not be supposed that the country recovered all at once its accustomed tranquillity and security. Bands of paiks, most of them proclaimed offenders and fugitives, continued to infest the jungles of Khurdha for some time after the pacification of the rest of the country. They committed, chiefly by night, the direst excesses. Not content with robbery, they added murder to the category of their crimes. The police were equally powerless to punish or prevent. It was necessary therefore in the early part of the year 1818 again to have recourse to military force.

Withdrawal of troops from outstations, and their concentration at Cuttack

By the exertions of Lieutenant Travis in the southern, and of Lieutenant Bell in the northern parts of Khurdha, these bands of marauders were at length hunted down, and the troops were able to return to head-quarters on the approach of the hot season. Henceforward the civil authorities were able to hold their own, and this is the last military operation which we have to chronicle. The causes of the rebellion will be more fitly mentioned under the head of Revenue and Civil Affairs in Part II. It remains only to record under Part 1 that the detailed military occupation of the country ceased about 1826, the troops at the various out-stations being called in and concentrated at Cuttack, where they have ever since remained.

FOOT NOTES :

•1 Mill's History of British India Vol. III.

•2. Published in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society about 1822.

•3. Published by Smith, Elder & Co., London, 1848.

•4. Mr. Beames has kindly given me the following derivations of these words :-
Kondura (*Sans*, Kandara), "dweller in vaces."
Pan (*Sans*, Parna), "clad in leaves."
Bowri (*Sans*, Vanavarti), "dwellers in the jungles" (probable).

•5. Recent inquiries show that there still exist in the Tributary States 7,868 paiks, who hold similar service tenures.

•6. I am indebted to the Commissioner, Mr. Ravenshawe, for the following note on this subject :- "It has been always found to be a most difficult matter to bring the paiks under a system of revenue payment; and repeated instances have occurred in the Tributary States where insurrecton has resulted from rash attempts to assess service tenures. The process, however, is being very gradually carried out, and most of the paiks now pay a nominal rent for their jagirs, generally in kind."

•7. Tradition relates that he was a man of fine physique and of great bodily strength. In an old temple at Khurdha there still exists a stone 10 x 5 x 2½ feet, which he is said to have partially raised from the ground when scratching his back against it during an attack of itch, a disease with which he is said to have been much troubled. Mr. Ewer, in his report on the Khurdha rebellion, states that he considers the reappearance of Jagabandhu in Khurdha to be the main cause of it.

•8. This was one of the Ranis of Sambalpur who had been sent as a political prisoner to Khurdha in 1806 under charge of Captain Ronghsedge along with other members of the Nagpur family. For her support lands to the annual value Rs 1,200 had been assigned in Panchgarh :- vide Central Provinces Gazetteer, Art. Sambalpur, page 453.

•9. This fort was held by one Kunuji, who, on the entry of the British troops into the province in 1803, field to Khurdha. He aided in the outbreak which led in 1804 to the capture of the Khurda Raja and his imprisonment in the fort, which he shared. On his release he was allowed to hold Sarangarh in farm, from the Raja of Patia. Troops were stationed there to watch his movements as late as 1811.

PART II

Division of the subject

Having sketched the progress of the British arms in Orissa and the various measures undertaken to secure the tranquillity of the province, I now proceed to relate as briefly as possible the principal events connected with the civil and revenue administration. It will be necessary to a right understanding of the changes introduced by our revenue system to give an outline of those which preceded it. In doing this I have drawn largely upon Mr. Sterling's valuable minute on Orissa tenures.*[10] The subject divides itself naturally into four heads:

1st. –The revenue system of the ancient sovereigns of Orissa.

2nd. –The changes introduced by the Mughals.

3rd. –Those made by the Marathas.

4th. –The British administration.

Revenue system of the ancient sovereigns of Orissa

Under the sovereigns of Orissa, who bore the title of "Sri Utkalespwara Gajpati Maharaja," that portion of their territories which bore the name of Utkal Des, and which corresponded very nearly to the present province, was divided into numerous circles or allotments called *besi* and *khand.* Over each of these local divisions were placed two officers, viz.

1. The *bisoi* and *khand-adhipati,* or simply khandpati, who had the chief direction and general superintendence of affairs, and who managed the police with the aid of an officer called the khandayat.

2. The *bhoimul,* accountant of the *karan* caste, who superintended the collection of the revenue, drew out the accounts of produce and cultivation, and kept a register of all the particulars of the land.

The above officers were to a certain extent jointly responsible for the payment of the revenue assessed on their divisions, and acted collectively in the discharge of several of their most important functions.

The Rajwara, or Tributary States, held by independent chieftains on a sort of feudal military tenure,was exempted from the jurisdiction of the above officers.

Changes introduced by the Mughals

These arrangements continued intact until the settlement of Todar Mal about 1580 A.D. The principal change introduced by him was merely a change of names, - Persian revenue terms being substituted for the Uriya. Thus the *khands* and *bisis* became *parganas*, though the old designation was sometimes retained in addition: thus, Parganas Tappan-*khand*, Nun-*khand*, Kirwal-*Khand* & c., and Parganas Balu-*bisi*, Dera-*bisi*, & c. The titles of *khand-adhipati* and *bisoi* became lost in the more familiar and general term of *chaudhari* or chief ; the *bhoimul* became the *kanungo wilayti* or provincial *kanungo*. The portions of each pargana which were managed by the above officers were now called *talukas*, and the officers themselves *talukdars*. The *padhan*, a headman of the village of the old Uriya system, becomes the *mokadam* of the Mughal system. The *jagirs* of the great military chiefs of the Rajwara were now called *killas*, and for their Hindu title of *bhuiya* is now sustituted the word *zamindar*; though it must be carefully remembered that it did not attain its modern meaning until more than a century and a half after the reign of Akbar. When first used, it was restricted to the Rajas of Khurdha, Aland Sarangarh, who all belonged to the ancient royal line of the Orissa Kings, and to the chiefs who are now styled Rajas of the Tributary Mehals. They paid only a light tribute, and were independent within their own jurisdiction.

Changes made by the Marathas

The Marathas divided the Mughalbandi into four *chaklas* or division,- 1) Cuttack, 2) Bhadrak, 3) Soro, and 4) Balasore, and

about 150 *parganas*. Each pargana was, as a rule, sub-divided, into one, two, three, or more of the following allotments or *mahals*, viz,-

1. *Taluka Chaudhari,*
2. *Taluka Kanungo Wilayati.*
3. *Taluka Kanungo.*
4. *Taluka Sadar Kanungo.*
5. *Taluka Majkuri or Mokadami Majkuri, or simply Majkuri.*

In some cases the word *tappeh* is substituted for *taluka*. It appears therefore that the terms *chaudhari* and *kanungo* were used as synonymous with that of *talukdar*, and that the same responsibility attached to both names. Under the head of *Taluka Majkuri* are specified certain *moujahs*, *patnas*, and other lands in charge of, or the revenue of which were paid through, *mokadams*, *karjis*, and *sarbarakars*. It was but rarely that a *talukdar* or *zamindar* appeared under this last head. In charge of each *chakla* was an officer called the *amil*, who was individually responsible to the State for the revenue assessed on his division and for the general conduct and supervision of revenue, civil, and criminal business. He was remunerated by grants of land called *nankar*, which he held rent-free, and besides this he was allowed, on adjustment of his accounts, certain perquisites and deductions on account of expenses of collection. Under him, as his chief assistant, was the *sadar kanungo*. He in his turn was assisted by a *gomasta* or mofussil or *wilayati kanungo* in each *pargana*. Each *gomasta* had under him one or more *mohurirs*. The former were generally persons of Bengali extraction; the latter were mostly pure Uriyas, and on them the bulk of the work fell. They kept the accounts on tal leaf, made measurements, and furnished such detailed information as was called for by their superiors. The *gomastas* did little more than affix their signatures and seals to bills of sale and other documents. When *talukdars* fell into arrear, they became security for them and took their estates into their own hands, where indeed they generally remained. The office of *sadar kanungo* was abolished about 1792 A.D. (1189 Amli)by Subahdar Raja Ram Pandit, but that of *gomasta* or *wilayati kanungo*

was retained until the British acquisition of the province in 1803, when it was abolished. The *amils* did not, as a rule make the *mokadams* responsible for the collections of all lands within their *chaklas*; a *hustabud* settlement was made yearly, and the amount of it was duly reported to the Government. The *amils* respected the hereditary rights of the *mokadams* and gave them *nankar* lands, which they called their *pitrali* or patrimonial property. They also had charge of the collections due from all lands held *khas*.

Growing importance of mokadams and others

By degrees, however, the Maratha officers were glad enough to be rid of the trouble of detailed management, and to leave it to any person who would engage for the payment of a lump sum. There was no one better qualified to undertake this responsibility than the *mokadams*, and it soon became a common practice for the *amils* to take engagements from them. This was at the beginning of the 19th century, and is contemporaneous with the word *zamindar* in Orissa. About this time too mention is made of *zamindars* being dispossessed (either by compulsory transfer of their lands on the best terms they could get, or by being ousted without any compensation whatever,) for want of punctuality in the payment of the revenue due from them. The original designation was given in official records to the holders of one or more entire *pargana*, and to the Rajas and *khandayats* of *killas*; but in common language, and in later sanads, the words *talukdar* and *zamindar* were used as synonymous, and applied indifferently to the *chaudharis* and *kanungo talukdars*. During the confusion which ensued between 1801 and, the British acquisition of the province in 1803, it seems most probable, that the *chaudharis, kanungos, mokadams,* and other persons entrusted with collections in estates held *khas*, or who had given agreements to the *amils* to pay the lump sums due from other lands, assumed the tittle of *zamindar* and claimed to hold the land itself in virtue of hereditary right, valid or invalid, as the case may be, to collect its rents. Broadly speaking, therefore, the *zamindars* of Orissa were at the time of the British acquisition either principal *mokadams* with a hereditary right of collection, but without any right, title, or

interest in the land itself, or Government officers, chiefly *chaudharis* and *kanungos*, in charge of collections. This view is also supported by three distinct facts:-

1. The *kanungos* under the Marathas were in many cases selected from among the best of the *mokadams* ;

2. The title of *kanungo* is retained to the present day by several of the *zamindars* of Orissa;

3. When we took the province in 1803, we could not get possession of a single revenue document of any importance except those mentioned at page 53/54. They were all either made away with or hidden by the Maratha revenue officers and by the *mokadams*, who appropriated (or misappropriated) them to their own use.

Modern use of the word zamindar

The commissioners therefore had no documentary evidence on which to base a settlement, or with which to rebut the claims of the parties actually in possession and styling themselves *zamindars* or hereditary owners of the soil. Thus a right which never existed was silently acquiesced in and indirectly admitted and confirmed by subsequent legislation. The proclamation issued by the Commissioners on 15th September 1804, and Regulation XII of 1805, which confirmed it, speak of the "*zamindars* or other actual proprietors of the soil," and the same phraseology is adopted in subsequent Regulations. In the accounts of the first English Settlement they are merely mentioned as holding certain lands, but in these of the triennial settlement of 1213-1215, the same individuals are spoken of as proprietors (*malik-i-zamin*), and have ever since been recognised as such. The Collectors trained in Bengal, not finding in Orissa any person corresponding to the *zamindar* of that province, manufactured him out of the material which they found most ready to hand. Before passing on to the British administration, it may not be out of place to quote the following description of the Maratha practice in revenue matters

in their own country, as it may safely be assumed that the same prevailed to a greater or less extent in Orissa."[11]

Practice of the Marathas in revenue matters

"All revenue reports of those times teem with accounts of the cruel, but often ingenious, processes by which the Maratha collectors slowly bled the people. Inconvenient precedents and institutions were course at once cleared away as mere clogs upon the process of extracting money. The carefully adopted organisation of village and circle officers which the Mughals, wherever they had come, had, grafted on the old feudalism of Gondwana, with all its graduated structure of rights and duties, gave way to a system of public auction. Villages were put up to the highest bidder, but even he was lucky if he got to the end of the year safe. After passing with alternative hope and fear through the rainy season and watching his crops safe through the caprices of the elements, some turn in the tide of war, or an unexpected robber raid, might destroy all the fruits of the toil and expenditure of months.

In the border districts one day Holkar's army would come and sweep the country before it then perhaps Scindia marched down troops to defend his possessions, in which process they pastured their bullocks on the crops, trampled in the water-channels with their elephants, and killed any of his subjects who made objections. Zainabad of Nimar was thus ruined in 1803. In the intervals between regular campaigns, and even when there was nominally peace, the rival armies usually did a little plundering in the enemy's country on their own account, having practically no other means of supporting themselves. The unfortunate country people gave up all attempt at protecting themselves against the troops, whether hostile or nominally friendly; and when they heard of an army coming, hid themselves in the glens and the rocks, creeping out by moonlight in a last desperate attempt to cultivate their land. But then if they tided through these greater catastrophes, there was the never absent danger of predatory inroads from the hill tribes, or

indeed from any one who was strong enough to get up a following. To avoid these they clubbed together and paid blackmail, or collected themselves into large villages and built mud fortifications round them, going out armed to their fields, many miles off perhaps, and leaving wide tracts of country in their own expressive phrase *be chiragh*, - without a light or village fire. If the crops thus sown in sorrow and tended in fear came to maturity, there were fresh trials to encounter. Sometimes the lease taken at the beginning of the year and carried through with so much difficulty and anxiety, was unceremoniously set aside in favour of a higher bidder, and the unfortunate lessee saw the harvest on which he had staked his all go to enrich some private enemy or clever speculator: sometimes the villages would be made over by the authorities to troops in arrears to pay themselves, no questions of course being asked: sometimes the crop was seized directly by the Government officials without any pretence of form or reason. In the districts of the interior, where there was a little less anarchy and confusion, rather more formality was observed in the process of exaction, though with very similar results. Tracts of country were assigned either to large farmers for a fixed sum, or to military leaders for the payment of troops; and as the valuation put upon the leases was always of the highest, the assignee had to exercise all his ingenuity to bring his collections up to the mark. Taught by experience, the cultivators assumed the appearance of poverty, concealed their stock, and hung back from taking farms. But they were always worsted in the long run. Practically they had no choice except to cultivate or to starve, and the assignee soon found out by means of his spies who were in the best position to take the lease. On these "dresses and titles were liberally bestowed, and solemn engagements entered into at a very moderate rate of rent, which engagements were most assuredly violated at the time of harvest, when the whole produce was at the mercy of the jagirdar (assignee). Thus he proceeded from year to year, flattering the vanity of the malguzars (farmers) with dresses, titles, and other distinctions, and feeding their hopes with solemn promises till all their capital was exhausted." There was a little

more difficulty in tapping the wealth of bankers and others, whose substance was stored in a form less accessible and prominent than standing crops or flocks and herds. Even in those times it was not for every one to take the royal road hit upon by Raghoji III, of going direct to the coveted strong-boxes by means of burglary ; so the notable device was discovered of establishing adultery courts, furnished with guards, fetters, stocks, and a staff of witnesses. When good information was obtained of the existence of a hoard of money, the unfortunate possessee was at once charged and found guilty; and if the disgrace of a crime which was then held to reflect on the whole family of the accused, was not sufficient to bring him to reason, he was chained in the stocks till he agreed to pay ransom. In one case the landholders of the Srinagar pargana of Narasinghpur clubbed to free themselves from an incubus of this kind, agreeing to purchase its abolition by an immediate payment of Rs.45,000, which they raised by a cess of 25 per cent, all round on the revenue of their villages. But the only effect of their effort was that they were presumed to be able to stand another turn of the screw, and the amount which they had managed to raise was thenceforward regularly added to their assessment for future years ! The devices of levying money with a show of legality in towns and populous non-agricultural tracts show almost endless ingenuity, though some of them were such flimsy veils for exaction, that it is difficult to imagine why the pretence of form should have been kept up at all. Thus the provisional Government appointed at Jabalpur to carry on the administration of the newly annexed Narbada country (1817) was called upon by its Maratha officials to decide among other questions whether widows should still be sold for the benefit of the State, whether one-fourth of the proceeds of all house sales should continue to be paid into the treasury, and whether persons selling their daughters should not still be taxed one-fourth of the price realized. At a meeting of the same provisional Government there is an entry ordering the release of a women named Pursia, who had been sold by auction a few days before for seventeen rupees. The taxes levied in different places varied with the idiosyncrasies of

the Government or of the individual tax-collector: but among them it may be noticed that people were mulcted for having houses to live in, or, if thay had no houses, for their temporary sheds or huts. If they ate grain, their food was taxed at every stage in progress through the country ; if they ate meat, they paid duty on it through their butchers. When they married, they paid for beating drums or putting up marquees. If they rejoiced at the set Hindu festivals, they paid again ; at the "holi," for instance, on the red powder which they threw at each other; at the "pala", on the ornaments which they tied to the horns of their cattle. Drinkers were mulcted by an excise, and smokers by a tobacco duty. Weavers, oil-pressers, fishermen, and such low caste industrials, had as a matter of course to bear a special burthen. No houses or slaves or cattle could be sold, no cloth could be stamped, no money could be changed-even prayers for rain could not be offered, without payment on each operation of its special and peculiar tax. In short, a poor man could not shelter himself, or clothe himself, or earn his bread, or eat it, or marry, or rejoice, or even ask his gods for better weather, without contributing separately on each individual act to the necessities of the State ! These were the regular taxes merely, and it certainly does not seem likely that any money could have slipped by owing to their want of comprehensiveness ; but the revenue accounts of the times show that supplementary measures were occasionally found necessary to reach men who would otherwise have escaped. Thus in the accounts of the Nawab Sadik Ali Khan, Governer of Narasinghapur, for the years A. D. 1806-1866, such entries as these may be found :

	Rs.
A fine on one of the kanungos found in good condition	1,000
A fine on Bhagwant Chaudhari, who was building a large house	3,000
A fine on Mehronpuri Gosain, who was digging tanks and building temples	6,000

Early measures taken by the British Commissioners in revenue matters

It was not until the middle of December 1803 that Colonel Harcourt and Mr. Melvill, the Commissioners for settling the province, found time to devote any attention to revenue affairs. Mr. James Hunter had been sent to Pooree soon after the acquisition of the province as "Acting Collector at Jagannath;" but his deputation had probably more to do with the pilgrim-tax and the temple than make with the land revenue, though he had charge of the latter until the arrival of Mr. Groeme, the first Collector, on the 27th October 1804. The earliest English record in the Cuttack Collectorate is a letter dated 19th December 1803 from the Commissioners to Mr. Hunter. It contains the outline of the revenue system which they had provisionally adopted as being best suited to the circumstances of the province. It was clearly impossible to do more than make the best of the system which they found ready to hand. The *amils* were therefore continued temporarily in office, and ordered to submit monthly accounts of their collections to the Collectors, to whom they were made subordinate. An abstract of these collections was to be forwarded by the Collectors to the Commissioners. The basis of the demand was to be the receipts of previous years; certain specified abwabs or ceases being excluded, and all demands for balances of former years being cancelled. The basis of the assessment was the *jamabandi* papers, which at the conquest of the province had been given up to the Commissioners by the *phar-navis*, or record-keeper, and the principal kanungo under the Maratha Government. Those *parganas* and villages, which came under the denomination of *khairat*, were to be held *khas* and exempted from the jurisdiction of the *amils*. The Collectors were to have a general jurisdiction in all revenue matters, subject to revision and control by the Commissioners. For the decision of civil suits no regular arrangement appears to have existed under the Marathas. They were probably decided by the *amils* or settled out of court by arbitration. In the former case they were generally tried verbally and decided in favour of the party who bribed the highest. In event

of any applications being made to him for the recovery of debts, & c., the Collector was instructed "to desire the parties to come to an amicable adjustment or to wait two or three months, until an arrangement is formed for deciding on claims of that nature."

Division of the Province into two revenue jurisdiction– June 1804

In June 1804 the province was divided into two divisions, the northern and southern, with the Mahanadi as the boundary between them. Of the former Mr. Robert Ker, and the latter Mr. Charles Groeme, was appointed Judge, Magistrate, and Collector.

Regulation XII of 1805

In September of the same year a proclamation was issued calling upon proprietors to engage for the Government revenue, and the terms of this proclamation were subsequently embodied in Regulation XII of 1805. On this subject more will be said under the head of Settlements.

Removal of the Commissioners to Calcutta–Abolition of their office :

The special Commissioners removed to Calcutta in June 1805, and by Regulation XIII of that year their office was abolished, the superintendence of the revenue affairs of the province being transferred to the Board of Revenue at Fort William.

Amalgamation of the northern and southern divisions

By the same Regulation the northern and southern divisions were amalgamated and placed under one Collector.

Extension to Orissa of the Bengal civil regulations

By Regulation XIV of 1805 the Bengal regulations regarding civil suits were extended to Orissa. Under these new arrangements Mr. George Web succeeded Mr. Groeme as Collector, and Mr. R. Ker became Judge and Magistrate of the whole province. The latter was also Superintendent of the Tributary Mehals, and had charge

of the Salt Department until the arrival in November 1805 of Mr. J.King, the first Salt Agent in Orissa. Tahsildars were stationed at Balasore, Jajipur, and Khurdha, and a fourth had charge of the *mahals* held *khas* on account of the recusancy proprietors.

Collector's head-quarters

Up to 1816 the Collector's headquarters were at Pooree. In 1806 it was proposed to remove them to Jajipur, as being more central, but Government refused its sanction. Pooree was doubtless selected on account of its importance in connection with the pilgrim-tax and the temple; in other respects a spot could hardly have been chosen more inconvenient both to the Government and to the public. In August 1814 the Collector was ordered to remove temporarily to Cuttack with such part of his establishment as was necessary to enable him to conduct sales and make up the revenue accounts for the year. He returned in December. This arrangement led a large number of *zamindars* to present a petition praying that the Collectorate might be removed entirely to Cuttack, which had been the seat of the Government both under the Mughals and the Marathas. The grounds of the petition were as follows:

(1) The unhealthiness of the climate of Pooree and the consequent difficulty the petitioners experienced in getting any one to reside there as agent; (2) that to boil rice and transact any worldly business in the holy city were forbidden by the *Shastras* under pain of eternal punishment, and that petitioners, when they went to Pooree, were consequently obliged to live on *mahaprasad* alone; (3) that the price of provisions was nearly double what it was in Cuttack, a man who could live on two annas a day in the latter place being obliged to spend about four annas in the former; (4) that there were no large resident *mahajans*, and that the petitioners were consequently put to much extra inconvenience when they wanted to borrow money to meet the Government demands, (5) that the separation of the chief civil and revenue courts of the provinces entailed much difficulty in procuring copies

of documents, &c., required in suits in either courts; (6) that many of the largest *zamindars* were Mahamadans, to whom a residence in Pooree was forbidden, and who were unable to perform their own religious ceremonies in the neighborhood. In forwarding the petition with a recommendation that it should be granted, the Acting Collector, Mr. J.P. Warde, stated that his treasury, containing five or six lakhs of rupees, had always been at Cuttack, and he had consequently been unable to exercise a proper supervision over it while his headquarters were at Pooree. They were accordingly permanently removed to Cuttack in 1816, though Mr. Trower, when he returned from leave, poohpooed the complaints of the *zamindars* as unreasonable.

Adjustment of boundary between Orissa and Midnapore

In 1817 the Subanrekha was made the boundary between Orissa and Midnapore.

Establishment of the office of Commissioner

In 1818 the office of Commissioner was established under Regulation 1 of 1818, with powers of a Revenue Board, Board of Trade, Provincial Court of Appeal, Court of Circuit, and Committee of Embankments. The first incumbent of the new office was Mr. Robert Ker, who has already been mentioned as Collector of the northern division in 1805 and as thee first Judge of Cuttack.

By regulation 1 of 1829 Cuttack was made the 19th Commissionership of Revenue and Circuit, and comprised Cuttack, Khurdha, Balasore, Midnapore, and Nuagaon, including Hidgellee. The powers of the Commissioner were those of the Board of Revenue and Court of Wards (subject to the control of the Sudder Board of Revenue,) and of a Court of Circuit.

Various changes in jurisdiction between 1815 and 1828

It will readily be imagined that the charge of the whole province was soon found to be more, both in the Revenue and Judicial Departments, than one officer could manage. Various distributions

of jurisdiction were made during the first twenty-five years of our administration with a view of remedying this evil. It will be sufficient briefly to indicate these without going into details. Form 1815 to 1817 there was a Joint-Magistrate at Balasore in charge of the thannahs of Balasore, Basta, and Soro; from 1817 to 1820 the same charge was vested in an Assistant Magistrate acting under the orders of the Magistrate ; from the latter year until 1828, when Balasore became a separate district, the former arrangement appears again to have been in force. At Pooree there was a Joint-Magistrate from 1813 to 1819 in charge of the thannahs of Pipli, Gop, Hariharpur, and Tiran. In the latter year the office was abolished and the above thannahs made over to Mr. W. Wilkinson, who was appointed Joint-Magistrate of Khurdha with powers of a Collector. Regulation IV of 1821 having provided that the power of a Magistrate and Collector might be vested in one and the same person. Early in 1822, by Government orders dated 14th February, the office of Joint-Magistrate at Khurdha was abolished, and Mr. Wilkinson became Collector of Cuttack, including Khurdha, while Mr. Ricketts was placed in charge of Balasore and Bhadrak with powers of a Collector. The Baitarni was made the boundary between the above two jurisdictions. It must be remembered that from 1803 up to this time the office of Magistrate was held by the Judge. Finally, by Government orders dated 23rd October 1828, the province was divided into three districts, which exist with few alterations at the present time, viz.(1) the Northern or Balasore division, (2) the Southern or Pooree division, and (3) the Central or Cuttack division. To these districts were appointed respectively as the first Magistrates and Collectors- (1) Messrs. H. Ricketts. (2) W. Wilkinson, and (3) R. Hunter. The Salt and Customs Departments were also transferred to them from the Salt Agents, under whose supervision they had formerly been. An alphabetical list of the various officers who served in Orisa from 1803 to 1828, with the appointments held by each of them, is given in Appendix II, p. 97.

Land revenue – Preliminary remarks

We now turn to the important subject of the assessment and collection of the land revenue. The information obtainable on these points from the English records is somewhat fragmentary. The bulk of the papers were of course in Persian and Uriya, and they have not unfortunately been preserved. It is still possible, *[12] however, to gain from the English reports and letters of the early revenue officers a considerable insight into the various measures which they carried out. Viewed by the light of more recent experience, they may seem crude, harsh, and impolitic. In many cases they undoubtedly were so; but due allowance must be made for the difficulties which at every step beset the early collectors and left them mere puppets in the hands of their *amla*. They did the best they could with the means and information at their disposal, but they were expected to do impossibilities, and failed accordingly. In treating of the land revenue, I have for greater facility of comparison converted the sicca into the Company's rupee.*[13] It must be borne in mind, for all purposes of comparison, that the purchasing power of money during the period under review was very much greater than it is at the present day.

Mr. Sterling's estimate of the revenue under the Mughals and Marathas

Mr. Sterling who had access to many old and valuable vernacular records, estimates the revenue of the province as it existed when we acquired it at Rs.15,89,732 under the Mughals, and at Rs. 14,40,000 under the Marathas. The actual collections were, he says, certainly much less. The revenue demand for the first year of our occupation of Orissa was based on the actual collections of the previous year. This would give a realizable *jama* for 1803-04 of certainly not more than Rs. 12,00,000.

First settlement of the land revenue A.D. 1804-05 – Regulation XII of 1805

In September 1804 the Commissioners issued instructions for making the first regular settlement of the province, and these were

subsequently embodied in Regulation XII of 1805. It was to be for one year only, 1804-05 (*Amli* 1212), and was to be followed by a triennial settlement. Even thus early a hope was held out to proprietors that at the end of the eleventh year from the expiry of the above one-year settlement, permanent engagements might be entered into for such lands as should be in a state of sufficiently advanced cultivation to warrant the measure.

Outline of the principles of the first settlement

As the principles and procedure of this settlement were followed in all the subsequent short-term settlements made before the passing of Regulation VII of 1822, it will be as well to give once for all an outline of them. One of the most important objects in view was to bring under cultivation deserted villages. As the Marathas and their predecessors had based their demands on the amount of land actually under cultivation, without reference to the amount culturable land in each village, but little encouragement had hitherto been held out to cultivators and proprietors to increase the cultivated area. The Uriya ryot, whose poverty was his only protection against robbery, extortion and oppression, cared only to grow sufficient rice to support himself and his family for the year. Under the Marathas the cultivated area was largely decreased, as is shown by the difference of the revenue derived by them and by the Mughals from the province.

Competition for ryots – Excess of land

Liberal terms were to be offered to those who would bring waste lands under cultivation, but one important condition was to be attached, which I give in the Commissioners' own words:- 'You will bind the engaging parties, however, in the most positive manner, and under a severe penalty, not to bring or entice ryots from lands already cultivated, but to collect their ryots from without the Company's territories.'[14] This affords us considerable insight into the wretched state of the province under Maratha oppression and misrule. The independent tributary Rajas afforded protection in

their hilly and jungly retreats to fugitive ryots from the Mughalbandi, and not only gave them land on more favorable terms, but also held out a reasonable prospect of their being able to enjoy the fruits of it.

Competition for land at the present day

They do so to the present day, but under conditions almost exactly the reverse. The difficulty is now, not where to find ryots to till the soil, but where to find land for the ryots to cultivate. *Pahi* lands, which formerly paid less rent than *thani* lands, now pay considerably more. As late as 1823 Mr. Pakenham, than Collector, says that though the produce of his *thani* lands was not enough to support the ryot and pay his rent, he managed to keep his head above water by holding *pahi* lands *benami*. To the present day almost every ryot holds *pahi* land in some other village than that in which his home is situated. Competition has enabled *zamindars* to impose on all *pahi* lands almost the highest rack-rents which they will bear; and so little waste land remains, that it is a serious question how in future to provide food for the numerous herds of already half-starved cattle which may now be seen collected on every remaining piece of uncultivated land or jungle in the province. It is only the oppressions of his landlord, or the raising of his rent to the last straws, that break the camel's back, that makes the home-loving ryot of the plains now seek refuge in the adjacent hill states. The expression is still common, and finds vent at the imposition of every new *tikkas* – "I cannot remain here; I must fly to the Gurjats." To return, however, to the settlement. The Collector was ordered to proceed himself into the interior and personally direct the settlement operations, fixing the amount of the assessment on *each* estate upon principles of equity and moderation, rather than to raise the collections to the utmost height." This was doubtless excellent advice, but it was impossible even to attempt to carry it out to the letter, considering the vastness of the Collector's jurisdiction, which comprised the whole of Orissa, and the absence of any reliable records whatever on which to base the assessment of *each estate*. A

settlement, in the modern sense of the word, was of course impossible. It was equally impossible to comply with the demand of the Commissioners for a complete record of all rent-free lands and tenures.

Difficulty of procuring information

The services of the mofussil *kanungos* were to be retained for the present "for the purpose of keeping and arranging the accounts of the district, and in aiding you with information in respect to the customs and usage of the country." The lands which the Marathas had granted to the *sadar kanungos* at a low rent in payment of their services to the State were to be settled with them at those rates in the hope of including them to furnish such information as they undoubtedly possessed of the resources of the district. The hope proved but a vain one. Neither threat nor entreaty could prevail on them to give the slightest assistance or information, and there is very good ground for believing that the knowledge which they did possess was turned to account in furtherance of their own interest. Equally unsuccessful was the attempt to procure detailed information from the amils of the Maratha Government and from the *zamindars* themselves. The *hastabud* papers of the former would have afforded very valuable information. It was too valuable, however, to be parted with. By threatening *zamindars* that they would report that their estates had according to these papers been under-assessed, the *amils* derived a comfortable income from their documents. The *amla* were, as a rule, in collusion with the *zamindars*, and themselves held estates *benami*. The interest of the *mokadams* was also opposed to that of the Government, and the ryots were too ignorant to know anything beyond their own immediate concerns. Thus every man's hand was either actively or passively against the Collector, and the interests of individuals were in direct opposition to those of the Government. Under these circumstances the defects of our early settlements in Orissa can hardly be wondered at, nor can the officers who made them be held responsible for their imperfections.

Rent-free tenures how to be dealt with

With regard to rent-free tenures, it was laid down that all lands which had been held rent-free during the two previous years, 1210 and 1211 Amli (A.D. 1802-03 and 1803-04), should continue to be so held during the currency of the settlement. They were to be settled with the persons in possession on their executing agreements to be responsible for the preservation of the peace, and to abstain from the collection of sayer or other duties of any kind. It was no doubt intended that a careful scrutiny should afterwards be made into the validity of all claims to hold land rent-free under the above rule. Unfortunately circumstances prevented this investigation being made until long afterwards. The selection of the years 1802-03 and 1803-04 those the possession of land rent-free during which gave a *prima facie* title to continue to hold it on the same terms, was peculiarly unfortunate, and resulted in a large loss of Government revenue. During those two years the Marathas had little leisure to devote to the details of revenue business. Their own superior officers, with no one to supervise them, contented themselves with their own aggrandisement, and did not interfere with their subordinates so long as the interests of the latter did not clash with their own. The consequences was that every one, from the *amil* to the *mokadam*, took advantage of the confusion to appropriate the lands under his charge. The allegation that they had held them rent-free was probably in most cases only too true. Documents, if called for, were easily forged in those days, and the burden to proof that they were invalid was thrown upon the Collector. By the year 1808 more than a lakh of such documents, affecting at least one-eighteenth of the land in the province, had been filed in the Collector's office under Regulation XII of 1805. *[15] Nor was this by any means the only way in which the Government was defrauded and hoodwinked.

Loss of revenue from other sources

A large quantity of land, variously called *kharida*, *khanakhansamani*, *mirsamani*, *dagra mahal*, *jamdakhaneh*, *har nawabi*, &c., had been specially set apart by the Marathas for the service of

the State, but no inquiry was made when we took the province into the conditions on which these lands were held by the parties then in possession; and it is certain that the State never received its just dues from these lands, but allowed its rights in them gradually to lapse.

Rights and position of mokadams

As regards the rights of *mokadams*, those whose office was hereditary, and who had paid their revenue either before or during the time of the Maratha Government independently of the *zamindar*, were to be allowed to engage for the villages of which they were in possession. If they had paid any *rasam* or fee to the *zamindar*, the payment was to be discontinued to him and made to Government, who would make it over to the former. In all cases in which the parties found in the Maratha accounts as *zamindars*, *talukdars*, *majkuri-mokadams*, and *sarbarakars*, refused to enter into engagements for their lands, the first preference was to be given, but to the extent only of the lands included in their tenures, to the *mokadams*. They were not, however, to be allowed to engage for lands not included in their *mokadami*. Here we have distinct legal recognition of the right of a hereditary *mokadam* to engage for the revenue of his tenure and become a *zamindar* in the present sense of the word; to change, that is, his right of collecting the revenue on behalf of the Government for a proprietary right in the soil itself. The practice thus ratified by the law was, as has already been stated, a common one during the last few years of the Maratha occupation; and the bulk of the old Uriya proprietors who subsequently had to give way under the severity of our sale laws to Bengali settlers and absentee millionaires, were it is most probable originally *chaudhari* or *kanungo talukdars* or *mokadams*.

Security to be given for payment of revenue

Every proprietor admitted to settlement was to be called upon to give full security for the payment of the revenue assessed on his estate.

Rights of cultivators

He was also to bind himself under penalty to give *pottahs* to his ryots and to consolidate with the land rent all *abwabs* or cesses. These provisions were, as may be imagined, a dead letter. The ryots came into contact only with the tahsildars and other native officers of Government, who, being landholders themselves, were not likely either to encourage complaints or to bring them, even if made, before the Collector. Recent events in Balasore have shown to what an extent, and for what a time, the Uriya ryot will submit to illegal exactions rather than risk an open contest with his landlord. In such a contest, even if he be victorious, the ryot has little to gain and much to lose; and unless he is prepared to sacrifice his home, which can be easily made too hot to hold him without any actual infraction of the law, he seldom ventures on the contest.

Sayer and other duties to be consolidated with the land revenue

The *sayer* duties, and all other collections not connected with the land revenue, were to be made over to Government exclusively.

Rule in cases of disputed right

In cases of disputed right the party in possession was to be continued in it pending the result of a regular suit, which was to be brought within four years; failing this the party in possession was to be finally confirmed in it at the end of the eleventh year. This clause had, at first, the effect of confirming in their possession those persons who had, as has been related, during the confusion which prevailed about the time of the British conquest, seized upon lands the collections from which had been entrusted to their care. It soon, however, began to favour the aggrandisement of the *amla*. There were few in those days who ventured to bring a civil suit unless they had a greater power of bribing the native officers of the court than their adversary. Many of the old Uriya proprietors found out to their cost that the scales of justice were in the hands, not of the judge, but of his native subordinates.

Results of the first Settlement-1804-05

The first settlement was concluded early in 1805, and the result was a jama of Rs.13,14,825. This was considerably under the estimated revenue both of the Mughals (Rs. 15,89,732) and the Marathas (Rs. 14,40,000), and it can hardly be called a heavy assessment. More than a third of the province, however, was held *khas* in consequence of the refusal of proprietors to engage, and their lands were consequently committed to the management of *tahsildars*. A regular combination of the proprietors to refuse the terms offered them was perhaps, under the circumstances of the province, impossible; but there seems at least to have been a general and unanimous feeling among them that they had but to hold out to make their own terms with Government. In the *pargana* of Limbai, in Pooree, the *Padhans* offered to engage for the Government revenue, and their offer was accepted subject to the condition that such engagement should not confer any proprietary right. It is difficult to imagine why this distinction was made, which certainly appears an invidious one, between them and the *mokadams*. The whole of the *parganas* of Serain, Chaubiskud, and Rahang, were held *khas*.

Engagements with the Rajas of the Tributary States

During the same year (1805) engagements were entered into by the Commissioners with the Rajas of the Tributary States, and the amount of their tribute was fixed for ever. Certain of them had been accustomed to furnish guards and be responsible for all robberies committed within the Mughalbandi territory bordering on their own, and for this service they had been allowed to levy a tax called *chaupani*. This was now commuted to a money payment by Government. The Raja of Jarmu Daspallah obtained a remission of part of his tribute on condition of his supplying annually a certain quantity of wood for the building of the car at Pooree. By Sections 23 and 24, Regulation XII of 1805, the *jama* of the estates of Darpan, Sokinda, Madhupur, and Malud, was fixed in perpetuity, though

they were situated within the Mughalbandi; and by Section 25 the following jungle mahals were to pay only a quit rent in perpetuity, viz. Al. Kujang, Chedra, Harishpur, Mirichpur, and Bishanpur. By Sections 36 and 37 the Tributary States, including Moharbhanj, were exempted from the operation of the Bengal regulations.

Dates of kists

Difficult as it had been to make the settlement, it was almost more difficult to collect the revenue fixed by it. The kists were seven in number, as follows:-

14th September	31st Bhadra	1 anna
15th October	31st Asin	2 annas.
13th November	29th Kartick	2 "
12th December	29th Aghan	4 "
10th January	29th Pos	4 "
9th February	30th Magh	2 "
10th March	29th Pahlgun	1 anna.

This arrangement of kists appears at the present day equally harassing and inconvenient to the Government and to the proprietors. With a kist falling due in each of seven successive months, punctuality in payment would appear to have been impossible, and the ryots during those months must have endured much. *[16] Yet we find the *zamindars* complaining in 1809 of the fewness of the kists in Orissa compared with Bengal, which had twelve; and in accordance with their petition, and on the recommendation of the Collector, they were increased and distributed as follows:

Asin 2 annas, Kartick 1 anna, Aghan 2 annas, Pos 3 annas, Magh 3 annas, Phalgun 2 annas, Chait 1 anna, Bysakh 1 anna, Jest 1 anna. For estates paying less than sicca Rs. 10, there were however only two kists ; for those whose *jama* was from sicca Rs. 10, sicca Rs.50, three ; and between sicca Rs. 50 and sicca Rs. 100, only four kists. The necessity for so large a number of kists arose probably

from the bulk of the ryots' rents being collected in cowries. A copper coinage was not introduced until about the year 1811, and it was forty more years before it completely replaced the old cowries.

Difficulty of collecting the land revenue

As soon as the Collector began to press for payment of the revenue for 1804-05, he was presented with a long list of *akhirajat*, or expenses of collection, which the proprietors demanded as a set-off from the amount of the Government demand assessed on their estates. The origin of these items does not appear to have been known, but they were always allowed by the Maratha Government, and the list possesses an interest of its own in connection with the question of the levy of illegal cesses by *zamindars* from their ryots. The following were allowed by the Government:-

1. *Iadin Kazis*, or cowries payable to *kazis* for celebrating the *eed*.
2. Expenses of celebrating the *Durga Puja*.
3. *Khyart gundi*, or gifts for poius and religious purposes.

The following were disallowed:

4. Travelling expenses and khurakhi of gomastas during their stay in Cuttack on on revenue business.
5. Coolie hire for bringing cowries from the mofussil to Cuttack in payment of revenue.
6. *Sannia* expenses.
7. Stationery allowances for paper, ink, and palm leave.
8. Fees to *zamindars' buis* (serapah)
9. Fees to *potdars* for counting cowries.
10. Travelling expenses of *zamindars*.
11. Expenses of building ferry-boats.
12. Fees for killing wild buffaloes.
13. Fees for *kanungos*.
14. Fees of *chowkidars* for attaching crops.
15. Fees of *khandayats* for watching crops.

It must be remembered that the zamindars had charge of the police, and performed duties and had responsibilities which are now transferred to officers serving directly under Government. However unreasonable the demand might appear to officers imbued with a sense of the superiority of our own system of revenue management in Bengal, to which it was directly opposed, it is not unnatural that the proprietors should be considerable annoyed by its refusal. They had yet to learn by very painful experience the essential difference between the Maratha revenue system and our own. I find no mention of the amount of collections during 1804-05; nor is there, as far as I could discover, any record of the number of estates sold for arrears of revenue during that year.

Triennial Settlement of 1805-1806 to 1807-08

I pass on therefore to the triennial settlement of 1805-06 to 1807-08 (*Amla* 1213 to 1215), which was also made under Regulation XII of 1805. It yielded a yearly *jama* of Rs. 14,35,354 being an increase on that of the previous settlement of Rs. 1,20,529. There can be no doubt that under the circumstances the enhancement was greater than the proprietors could pay. The settlement was made without any reference to the actual increase of cultivation or to the amount of extra land likely to be brought under cultivation, both which considerations had guided the Marathas in their assessments. Ours was based on the amount of land capable of cultivation. Nor was any account taken of the condition of the people, the outrun of the crops, or any other of the many considerations, direct and indirect, which it is necessary to observe in adjusting the land revenue, so as to leave the proprietor a fair profit and keep in mind at the same time the interests of the cultivators and of the Government itself. Moreover, the Maratha Government had always allowed deductions, on settlement of the accounts, for lands which, though included in their estimate, had not been actually brought under cultivation. This lead naturally enough to much laxity and evasion, which was inconsistent with a Bengal Collectors's ideas of revenue management, and it was determined to reject once for all claims to

remission based on these grounds. Remissions had also been invariably given by our predecessors for losses by drought and flood. Our assessment, though considerably higher, was intended to include both these contingencies. Instead of taking the Uriya proprietors as they were, our early revenue officers having already made them into Bengal *Zamindars*, determined to try and make them what they thought they ought to be in the matter of the punctual payment of their revenue. This policy made our demands seem harsh and unjust in their eyes, and rendered them unwilling as well as unable to fulfil their engagements. They could not reconcile with our otherwise just and lenient rule our unbending determination to realize to the uttermost cowrie the revenue for which they had engaged, and our stern refusal to listen to pleas of remission and sets-off, which under the Marathas they had been accustomed to make with uniform success.

The sale laws put in force against proprietors

The hostility of the proprietors brought collections to a deadlock and matters to a crisis. In 1806 many estates fell into arrear for heavy balances. The Collector applied to the Revenue Board for authority to bring them to sale under the Bengal Regulations. To this proposition in its entirety the Board wisely demurred. They adopted the expedient of ordering the estates to be advertized for public sale, in the hope that the proprietors would, in their alarm at the prospect of losing them, pay up the balances due without further delay. To give force to the threat, seventeen estates, with a *jama* of over Rs. 30,000 were brought to the hammer and sold by way of making a public example. It had, however, little or no effect; next year the balances increased to an enormous extent, and as the threat of sale had proved of no avail, it was determined to try the reality. This was the beginning of that fatal policy by which the old Uriya proprietors were ruined and their places filled by absentee Bengali millionaries and the *amla* of the courts.

Sales in 1807

In 1807 no fewer than 266 estates with a *jama* of over three lakhs of rupees were sold by public sale for arrears of revenue. *[17]This measures was regarded as harsh and unjust, and it produced a widespread feeling of distrust and alarm. During the currency of the first triennial settlement no fewer than 427 estates were sold, of which the *sadr jama* was nearly five lakhs of rupees. Ninety-four per cent. of the demand was collected, but at what a sacrifice.

The zamindars petition the Governor General

The *zamindars* consulted together and agreed to petition the Governor General in Council for redress. They stated that the chief cause of their inability to pay their revenue for the year 1806-07 (*Amil*1214) was the failure of the crops by drought. That inspite of this - a cause quite beyond their own control– more than two hundred estates had been sold for a sum which did not cover the balance due from them. That in addition to the sale of their estates they had suffered imprisonment in the civil jail. That the drought of 1806-07 (*Amil* 1214) was followed the next year by heavy floods, which had been equally destructive to the crops. They had thus no stores of grain on which the mahajuns would advance them money to meet the Government demand. The innovations had been introduced into the revenue system which made their position worse under the English than it had been under the Maratha Government. That whereas the latter took as the basis of assessment the actual income they had derived from their lands during the previous year, and moreover allowed on the adjustment of accounts at the close of the year, deductions on account of various cesses, *expenses* for repairs of embankments, &c., the latter based their demand on the average receipts of three previous years, and allowed no deductions whatever. They beg that the repairs of the embankments may again be entrusted to them, and the former deductions on this account be made from their *jama*. They assert, certainly with some show of reason, that their inability to pay is rather their misfortune than fault. They point out that there is one

law for Government and another for them. That whereas when their estates fall into arrear they are brought to sale by summary process, yet when the *mokadams* and other tenure-holders under them fell into arrear with their rents, they had no other remedy than a regular suit in the Dewanee Adalut. Even if they won this, the defaulters were only imprisoned, the court never resorting to the sale of their tenures. Finally they complained that there were only seven kists in Orissa, while in Bengal there were twelve. Unfortunately but little notice was taken of this petition. It was looked upon by the local officers as a pretext for the evasion of the Government demand, and it met with but little favour in the eyes of the higher authorities. Had a commission been at this time appointed to inquire fully into the circumstances of the province, it is more than probable that much subsequent hardship to the old proprietors and loss of revenue to the Government might have been avoided.

Orders to prepare for a permanent settlement

It is hardly credible that in such a state of affairs orders should have been received to prepare for making a permanent settlement; but it is no less true. Fortunately Mr. Trower, the then Collector, was fully alive to the reckless and premature nature of the scheme, and he pointed out in the strongest terms the impossibility of carrying it out. He says firstly that there was no reliable information procurable on which to base a settlement. An attempt had been made during the triennial settlement of 1805-06 to 1807-08 (*Amli* 1213 to 1215) to collect some statistics, but that threats and fines had failed equally to induce the zamindars to furnish any papers or any information regarding their estates. Secondly he points out that the number of proprietors who had entered into engagements for the payment of revenue was about three thousand, and that before a permanent settlement could be made with these it was necessary to institute a strict inquiry into the nature and validity of their tenures. Thirdly he states that more than a lakh of *sanads* to hold land rent-free had been filed in his office under section 29,

Regulation XII of 1805, and that each of these demanded a careful and searching inquiry before it could be either confirmed or resumed. Such an inquiry was rendered doubly imperative by the well-known fact that many persons had taken advantage of the confusion which ensued about the time of the expulsion of the Marathas by the English to forge deeds and file them afterwards as genuine. Happily this remonstrance prevailed. Regulation X of 1807, (which provided that on the lapse of the triennial settlement of 1805-06 to 1807-08 (*Amli* 1213 to 1215) a four-year settlement should be made, at the expiry of which Orissa was to be permanently settled,) was rescinded by Section 2, Regulation VI of 1808, which enacted that a settlement should be made for one year, 1808-09 (*Amli* 1216), to be followed by another triennial settlement from 1809-10 to 1811-12 (*Amli* 1217 to 1219). Section 4 of the above Regulation says "the assessment which may be fixed on the lands in the year 1219 shall remain fixed for ever in case the arrangement shall receive the sanction of the Hon'ble Court of Directors."*[18]

One year settlement of 1808-09 - Its results:

For superintending the settlements provided for by Regulation VI of 1808, Mr. C. Buller was, under section 4 of that Regulation, appointed Special Commissioner, and his duties in Orissa were not completed until February 1810. His office was abolished by Regulation IV of that year, and the duties, powers, and authority vested in him, were retransferred to the Board of Revenue. The one-year settlement for the 1808-09 (*Amli* 1216) yielded a *jama* of Rs. 14,38,912, being an increase of only Rs. 3,558 on that of the previous settlement. There is a consequent improvement in the collections, which amount to 95 per cent, of the *jama* against 94 per cent, of that of the previous settlement. Only ninety-one estates, bearing a *jama* of Rs. 21,410, were brought to sale, against an average number of 142 with an average *jama* of Rs. 1,66,213 sold yearly during the currency of the triennial settlement of 1805-06 to 1807-08 (*Amli* 1213 to 1215).

Triennial settlement of 1809-10 to 1811-12

The triennial settlement of 1809-10 to 1811-12 (*Amli* 1217 to 1219) gave an average annual increase of revenue to the extent of Rs. 64,042, but the collections fell off to 84 per cent., and 271 estates bearing a *jama* of Rs. 2,04,842 were sold during the three years.

Disappointment of the proprietors at the nonfulfillment of the promise of permanent settlement

This falling off appears to have been greatly due to the disappointment experienced at the nonfulfilment of the promise of a permanent settlement held out originally by Regulation XII of 1805, and repeated provisionally in Regulation VI of 1808. The shortness of the periods for which settlements were made had a most demoralizing effect, as much land which would otherwise have been brought under cultivation was purposely kept waste in the hope of securing favourable terms when the permanent settlement was made. It was notified by Regulation X of 1812 that the Court of Diectors had refused to sanction the proposal contained in Regulation VI of 1808, that the settlement should be made permanent from the year 1812-13 (*Amli* 1220), and that on the expiry of the second triennial settlement of 1809-10 to 1811-12 (*Amli* 1217 to 1219) another settlement should be made for three years.

Regulation I of 1813, however, repealed this, and enacted that there should be a one-year settlement for 1812-13 (*Amli* 1220), followed by a triennial settlement, after the expiry of which it was promised that inquiries should be instituted by the Revenue Board with a view of ascertaining what estates should be in such a state of cultivation as to warrant the fulfillment of the promise of permanent settlement held out in Regulation X of 1812 (Sections 4 and 5).

One-year settlement of 1812-13

There being no time to make any fresh inquiries, the *jama* of the settlement of 1812-13 (*Amli* 1220) was based chiefly on that of

the previous year. A reference to Appendix I, page 96, will show that the collections fell off to 70 percent., and that 50 estates were brought to sale, the *jama* of which was Rs. 40,666.

Difficulties experienced by the Collector in making a settlement and by zamindars in paying their revenue:

Writing in November 1812 to ask for tents to enable him to proceed to the interior and make settlement inquiries in person, the Collector points out the difficulties with which he has to contend. The *zamindars*, he said, totally ignored his orders to attend at his cutchery with their putwaris. Petitions poured in from all sides alleging that the *jama* assessed on their estates was greater than they could pay, and begging that their agreements might be cancelled and *amins* deputed to manage them. Even when they voluntarily entered into agreements, they would not come forward to sign them, and to secure their attendance a daily fine had to be imposed. They were already hopelessly involved in debt, and could not pay their revenue without increasing their obligations to the *mahajuns*. When the crops failed and the money market was unusually tight, the end came and the estate was sold. For every Rs. 80 received in cash from a *mahajun*, the *zamindar* had to give a bond for Rs. 100, with exorbitant interest. It was a prevalent practice for the *mahajun* to advance the amount of the Government *jama* to a needy proprietor, on condition that the latter made over his estate by a regular registered deed of sale and had the lender's name entered in the Collectorate *touji*. The borrower received from his creditor a private agrement by which it was provided that the estate would be restored if the debt was paid; failing this, it was to become the *bona fide* property of the lender.

Consequences of the recusancy of proprietors:

Under these circumstances it is not to be wondered at that many proprietors refused to engage for their estates and preferred to see them held *khas* or let out to farm. In the former case the

management was by *tahsildars*, over whom it was impossible to exercise any real supervision; in the latter the sole object of the farmer was to squeeze as much as possible out of the ryot during the currency of his lease. The proceeds, instead of being applied to the payment of the Government revenue, were secured by *benami* investments. When the Collector had to enforce payment, the farmer preferred to go for a time to the civil jail, leaving his sureties to satisfy him as best they could. In the generality of cases these sureties were themselves needy adventurers or relatives, who cheerfully joined the farmer in his retirement. The condition of the unfortunate ryots under this state of affairs can be better imagined than described.

Biennial settlement of 1813-14 and 1814-15

The next settlement was biennial, namely for the years 1813-14 and 1814-15 (*Amli* 1221 and 1222). To superintend it Mr. Richardson, a member of the Revenue Board, was deputed under the general authority of Regulation XIII of 1811, and fixed the *jama* at Rs. 15,75,252, an increase of only Rs. 23,359 on that of the previous settlement. A slight improvement took place in the collections, which were 72 per cent, of the *jama* against 70 per cent., in 1812-13 (*Amli* 1220): but 108 estates, bearing a *jama* of Rs. 60,172, had to be sacrificed to effect this improvement, and the state of the country appears to have been growing yearly worse.

Putwaris

Mr. Richardson first urged upon the Government the necessity of enforcing the provisions of Section 62, Regulation III of 1793, regarding the appointment of *putwaris*, which had hitherto been a dead letter in Orissa, though it had been extended to the province by Regulation XII of 1805, Section 36. It was promised that the subject should be taken up as soon as possible in conjunction with that of the proposed re-establishment of the office of *kanungo*.

Necessity of resumption proceedings and inquiries

He also urged the necessity of commencing without further delay the necessary inquiries into the validity of the *lakhiraj* tenures, the *sanads* of which had, as mentioned in page 38, been filed in the Collector's office under Regulation XII of 1805. To use Mr. Richardson's own words, these measures were necessary in consequence of "the total absence of any records to be depended on, and of all other sources of authentic information." It had become quite evident that some local agency for the collection of information in the mofussil was a need which could no longer be dispensed with. Regulations V of 1816 and XII of 1817 provided accordingly for the appointment of *kanungos* and *patwaris* respectively, but both Regulations remained a dead letter as late as the year 1822, the Collector being too much occupied with other business, and the *zamindars* taking no notice of the orders issued to them to give in a list of the *karjis*, *patwaris* (called in Orissa "*bhois*"), or other village officers, required by the Collector to open a register under Section 6, Regulation XII of 1817. It may be stated here, in order to dispose of the subject, that the object of the two regulations just referred to was not fully carried out during the period under review.*[19]

One year settlement of 1815-16 – Renewal of promise of permanent settlement

The biennial settlement of 1813-14 and 1814-15 (*Amli* 1221 and 1222), made by Mr. Richardson, was by Regulation III of 1815 extended to the year 1815-16 (*Amli* 1223). Section 6 runs thus : Nothing contained in this Regulation shall be construed to deprive the zamindars of the benefit of the pledge conveyed in Section 4, Regulation XII of 1812, purporting that at the expiration of the *Amli* year 1222 a perpetual settlement will be conceded for such estates as may be in a sufficiently advanced state of cultivation to warrant the adoption of that measure without an undue sacrifice of the public resources, and it will consequently be the duty of the Board of Revenue to report, as soon as circumstances may admit,

what estates may be in a state of cultivation to warrant the conclusion of a permanent settlement, either with or without an increase on the assessment of 1222 *Amli*, as the condition and produce of the several estates may suggest". After the expiry of the settlement of 1815-16 there was to be another triennial settlement, and, to quote the preamble, "At the expiration of that period the Governor-General trusts it will be no longer necessary to defer giving to the *zamindars* the full benefit of the pledge repeatedly conveyed to them". It may be remarked here that this pledge was a purely conditional one. The authorities in India had no power to make it otherwise than subject to the approval of the Court of Directors. A further condition was distinctly attached to the pledge, viz. that the estates to which it might be extended should be in a sufficiently advanced state of cultivation to warrant the measure. It is easy enough to understand how, in the general ignorance and confusion which prevailed in the province during our early administration of it, the proprietors overlooked, misunderstood, or were entirely unacquainted with, the conditions attached to the promise of the Government and the reasons for its not being fulfilled. It is not surprising therefore that we should have been at various times charged with a distinct breach of faith in this matter. We should even at the present day hesitate to assert that the province is in such a condition as to warrant the fulfilment of the promise conditionally made by former Governments. The Court of Directors took this view of the matter. In a despatch dated 16th June1815, they say – "There cannot in or opinion be a more indefensible proceeding than finally to decide on the rights of individuals and the interests of Government in a state of declared ignorance respecting both". Still it was bad policy to make, and constantly repeat, promises the fulfilment of which depended on the sanction of the authorities at home.

Results of the settlement of 1815-16

The *jama* of the settlement for 1815-16 (*Amli* 1223) was Rs. 16,16,561; the increase of the revenue, Rs. 41,309. The collection

within the year was only 65 per cent. of the *jama*, and 94 estates were sold for arrears, of which the sadr *jama*, was Rs. 67,027. These figures show a great falling off compared with those of the settlement which preceded it.

Triennial settlement of 1816-17 to1818-19

The triennial settlement of which followed, and which was made under Regulation VI of 1816, gave still worse results. The jama was Rs. 16,37,924, an increase of only Rs. 21,463; still only 27 per cent. of it was collected, and 8 estates bearing a jama of Rs. 73,228 were brought to sale for arrears.

Change of policy regarding the permanent settlement

The hopes previously held out of a permanent settlement were considerably modified. The tone of the preamble to Regulation VI of 1816 is very different from that of previous Regulations. It says– The information hitherto acquired by Government and the revenue authorities respecting the limits and produce of the several estates comprised within the said districts and places is too imperfect, either with reference to the rights and interests of Government or of the proprietors themselves, to afford ground for the proper adjustment of an assessment which is to remain fixed in perpetuity." And Regulations XIII of 1818 and VII of 1822, under which the next settlements were made, make no allusion whatever to a permanent settlement. There seems to have been much disappointment among the proprietors at this change of policy; and to avoid the constant annoyance of repeated short-term settlements, many of them refused to engage for their estates during the years 1815-16 (*Amli* 1223) and 1816-17 (*Amli* 1224). No less than 202 *mahals* bearing a *jama* of Rs. 3,42,328 were relinquished during the above period, and had to be held *khas*.*[20] The proprietors doubtless thought to turn the Government aside from its avowed policy by this demonstration, but in this they were disappointed. They were wise enough, however, not to oppose their own interests_further, and of the above number only 80 *mahals*, with a *jama* of Rs. 32,920, remained unengaged for by April 1817.

Crisis of 1817

In this year, however, matters came to a crisis. Khurdha broke out into open rebellion, which extended more or less to the greater part of the province; and it doubtless appeared to many of the proprietors that our reign was at an end, and that we were about to be driven out of the country. During every year since 1804 uncollected balances of four previous years had on an average been brought forward on the *tauji*. Towards the end of 1817-18 the total arrears of revenue amounted to no less than Rs. 12,22,748; that is, to very nearly three-fourths of the *jama* of the whole province. It was therefore notified that the balances of previous years, three *pan* of the revenue for 1816-17, and the interest on all arrears, would be remitted to those who would pay up in full for 1817-18 (*Amli* 1225). This concession had a salutary effect, and the balance was reduced by April 1819 to Rs. 9,49,544. Of this, however, upwards of 8-1/2 lakhs were with the consent of the Governor-General in Council written off as irrecoverable. With the appointment in 1818 of Mr. Robert Ker as the first Commissioner began a new and brighter era of revenue management in Orissa; and in future years our revenue officers profited by, and avoided the errors of the past.

First survey operations

It was in 1818 too that the revenue survey was commenced in Cuttack, under Ensign Buxton, which proved the basis of future settlements and put an end to the system of guess-work, which had hitherto been the only means of getting at the revenue of the province. In 1820 the survey was extended, under Mr. Scott, to Pooree. It may be well to pause here and give a *resume* of the first fifteen years of the revenue administration of the province.*[21]

Resume of the first fifteen years of our revenue administration

The revenue was enhanced during this period by about 3-1/4 lakhs of rupees, being raised from Rs. 13,14,825 in 1804-05 to Rs. 16,37,924 in 1818-19. In 1847 it was Rs. 16,89,630, and in 1870-71 Rs. 17,36,725. Judged by the light of subsequent experience and more accurate information, it would clearly appear therefore that

under the first eight settlements the province was considerably over-assessed. Mr. Collector Trower denies this in a letter to the Revenue Board dated 23rd May 1817, and says that lands representing a *jama* of Rs. 40,000 were held by persons, who had no claim to them. "I am ready to prove to the satisfaction of the Board that no single estate is over-assessed, but on the contrary that if the ryots are fairly treated, every one of them will yield a handsome profit to the holder." But, *per contra*, the country had decayed ever since the Maratha conquest. Under the Mughals it was happy and prosperous. Our first assessment exceeded even the collections of the Marathas by a lakh, to say nothing of other taxation and salami, &c., to *amla* at each new settlement. The nominal *jama* of the Marathas was, it is true, Rs. 14,40,000(see page 35) , a sum which was not exceeded until 1809-10, but their average net collections for twelve years (from 1198 *Amli* to 1209 *Amli*) were under Rs.12,00,000*[22] after deducting alienations and various expenses of collection and other sets-off, while we attempted to collect the amount of the *jama* to the uttermost cowrie. The amount of the average yearly demand for each settlement collected during the currency of the settlement fell from 94 per cent. to 27 per cent. between the years 1805-06 and 1818-19, and during the same period it was thought necessary to bring to sale no less than 1,129 estates bearing a *jama* of Rs. 9,65,984. Many of these estates were sold more than once in the same year. One was sold seven times in four years, one six times in the same period, another three times in three years, a fourth four times in five years.

Extinction of the old Uriya proprietors

This measure ruined most (Mr. Ewer says two-thirds at least) of the old Uriya proprietors, and transferred their lands to rich absentee Bengalis and to the *amla* of the courts. Estates with a *sadr jama* of over Rs. 5,000 were sold at the office of the Revenue Board in Calcutta.*[23] It was seldom that an Uriya proprietor had any agent or other person who could attend at these sales and look after his

interests; the *amla*, on the other hand, had agents on the spot, and rich Bengalis could afford to risk a speculation of the kind. Estates were frequently sold for a mere fraction of their real value, and were almost invariably purchased by foreigners. These seldom or never visited their purchase, but entrusted the management of it to agents of their own kith and kin, who were aliens to the Uriyas both in race and language. Far removed from the control of their principals, these lived in a style quite sufficient of itself to swallow up the legitimate profits of the lands entrusted to their care. The old Uriya land-holders whom they succeeded were equally prodigal and reckless, but at least some part of the money they squandered benefited their poorer dependents, and a great part of it was spent on religious ceremonies. Lax in paying their revenue, they were equally lax in collecting their rents; and they always respected the rights of the subordinate tenure-holders. Mr. Ewer says, in his report dated 13th May 1818 (paragraphs 33-59), that he had met with no single instance of a complaint against his landlord from a ryot on the estate of an original Uriya proprietor, but that such complaints in estates held in farm by, or let out to, foreigners were many and distressing. They racke-rented the ryots and *sarbarakars*, dispossessed those *mokadams* who would not consent to an increase of their *jama*, and to those who did so consent, gave agreements, in which they were only styled *ijaradars* : so that when they became obstructive, they might with the help of their coadjutors, the *amla*, oust, them from their tenures and deprive them of their rights by a civil suit. *[24] They openly sold the situations of *patwari*, *gomasta*, &c., to persons of their own race, who, having no fellow feeling for the people over whom they were placed, subordinated all considerations of justice and humanity to their own aggrandisement. If any Uriya proprietor held an estate adjoining theirs, they encroached on it to such an extent that they drove him in very despair to dispose of it. *[25] He was no match for his Bengal neigbour in the courts, as the latter commanded the good services of the all-powerful *amla*. So he wisely judged that the first loss would be the

least, sold his land to the best advantage he could, and retired into proverty and obscurity for the rest of his days. From a letter from the Collector to the Revenue Board dated 7th October 1814, it would appear that landed property had become about that time so depreciated in value as not to be worth more than 2-1/2 years purchase. Transfer by private sale, almost unknown in former times, became quite common.*[26] (See a letter from Mr. Trower to Government, dated September 1817.) Out of 2,340 estates borne on the revenue roll in 1818, Mr. Trower says that "only 1,449 have never changed hands, but have uniformly remained in possession of the original proprietors". Between Ist December 1806 and 4th January 1817, 350 estates, with a jama of Rs.4,72,344, passed by public auction into the hands of Bengalis and other foreigners for a sum of only Rs. 6,07,063, and of 232 estates *[27] which were in the possession of natives of Bengal in May 1817, no fewer than 155 *[28] belonged to *amla* in the service of Government. (Collector to Revenue Board, May 17th 1873). There is even a case on record in which 41 lots, of which the *sadr jama* was sicca Rs. 1,21,695, sold for only sicca Rs. 46,205 (see the above letter). The large number of sales for arrears of revenue has been adduced as a proof of the over-assessment of the land revenue, but it is necessary to qualify this statement in some degree.

Difficulty of realizing the tribute of the hill states

It cannot be said that the tribute of the hill states had been fixed too high, and yet it was quite as difficult to collect it as it was to collect the revenues of the Mughalbandi. Threats of attachment and sale were constantly made, though these measures were only once actually resorted to. This was in 1818, when Daspalah, Keonjhar, Nayagarh, Narsinghpur, Tigria, and Hindol, were put up to sale and bought in by Government in order to frighten the Rajas. The measure had the desired effect. The *dewans* rushed to the Commissioner "and entreated in terms of most abject supplication to be allowed to pay up their arrears and retain possession of their

property and privileges". The sales were cancelled on payment of the balances due.

Mr. Ker's opinion on the sale laws, &c.,

Mr. Ker says that although in his opinion the Bengal Regulations extended to Orissa were not suited to its circumstances, their defects had been enhanced by the injudicious manner in which they had been carried out. Public sale, instead of being the last resort, had in Orissa been the first and only one. The practice of issuing written demands for arrears of revenue fell into disuse at a very early period, if indeed it was ever introduced. The proprietors declared that under the Marathas it had never been the custom for them to pay any revenue until a formal written demand had been served on them. The power of attachment of states for the purpose of intimidating defaulters or preventing embezzlement and waste, appears also to have been a dead letter in Orissa. Mr. Trower, when he was Collector, stated that "no revenue was ever paid in Cuttack until the day of sale." "The natives of Orissa will not pay their revenue so long as there is the most distant chance of their being allowed further delay, and though they have the money actually on their persons". The strong powers which the Bengal Code gave against defaulting farmers and their sureties were either unknown or utterly neglected, and the levy of interest as a penalty was so irregular as to become a farce.*[29] We have briefly pointed out the chief defects of our early revenue system, which led to so much suffering and dissatisfaction among the people, and we now propose, before returning to the subject of the next settlement, to mention two other causes which co-operated with the above, intensified the result, and led more or less to the Khurdha rebellion on 1817.

Depreciation in the value of cowries

First and foremost was the depreciation in the value of cowries, which up to, and indeed long after, the introduction of the copper

coinage about 1811, was the standard currency of the province. The Government rate of exchange, instead of fluctuating with the mofussil rate, was fixed at a uniform rate of 4 *kahans* 2 *gandas* to the rupee, while the former varied at different times from 6 to 8 *kahans*. Thus a *zamindar* whose estate bore a *sadr jama* of Rs. 39,724 at *kahans* to the rupee, incurred a loss when the bazar rate was at 6 *kahans* of Rs. 19.862. It was not likely that he would consent to bear the loss alone, so the hardship fell also on the heads of the ryots. The rate of exchange fixed by Regulation XII of 1805 (Section 13 of which restricted the payment of revenue in cowries to a fixed period) was 4 *kahans* 2 *gandas*. The market rate at various periods was as follows:

			K.	P.	G.
Per Sica Re.	1805-06	(*Amli* 1213)	3	14	10
" "	1806-07	(" 1214)	3	14	10
" "	1807-08	(" 1215)	4	0	18
" "	1808-09	(" 1216)	4	6	0
" "	1809-10	(" 1217)	5	0	0
" "	1810-11	(" 1218)	5	12	0
" "	1811-12	(" 1219)	6	8	0

It will be seen that the depreciation in the value of cowries followed rapidly on the declaration that they would no longer (after the expiry of the day of grace) be received in payment of revenue at the Government treasury. Notwithstanding the fact that this was the currency chiefly employed among the poorer classes, the Collector stated his opinion that the supply was more limited than was generally supposed, and did not certainly exceed a lakh of rupees in the whole district. The shroffs took advantage of this state of affairs by forcing cowries on needy *zamindars* at exorbitant rates of exchange, and the *zamindars* on their part took a similar advantage of their ryots. As a remedy, the Collector advocated the

introduction of a copper currency, and this recommendation was in 1811 carried out; but it was long before it had the desired effect. The cowries was the mofussil medium of circulation till long after, and all *zamindari* accounts were computed in the first instance in cowries and leases given accordingly. It took about forty years to change the currency to copper.'[31]

Rise in the price of salt

Another ground of complaint was the enhanced price of salt, and the great difficulty of procuring it even in small quantities. On this subject more will be said in page 69. Both these causes, independently of local grievances, which were the more immediate cause of the Khurdha rebellion, contributed to swell the general disconent of which it was the product. The delay in instituting enquiries into the validity of the *lakhiraj* tenures of the province was in itself a grave error, which cannot be too strongly condemned.

General condition of the people between 1803 and 1818

It is with unfeigned regret that we contemplate the policy of the first fifteen years of our revenue administration of Orissa, and we doubt if the people had not good reason to think themselves better off under the Marathas than they were under their conquerors, Mr. Sterling thinks they were not, but he qualifies his opinion by the words "on the whole."

The following extracts from the reports of local officers bear on the subject of the condition of the people, and are of much interest. Mr. Ker says'[32]– The Uriyas are the most rude and ignorant of all the races in India subject to British dominion. The landholders are needy and indigent, especially the smaller proprietors, who constitutes at least half of the whole number. Their improvidence of disposition is commensurate with their inferiority in the scale of civilisation and refinement, and with this is combined a propensity to wanton extravagance which would appear inveterate. Ten years of ruin and suffering date from the beginning of the heavy sales of

lands, and have not effected any improvement.

"The evil can only be met assimilating our system of collection more closely to that so effectually followed by our predecessors, and which, strange as it may appear, is looked back upon with comparative fondness and regret by the native peasantry and landholders of Cuttack". Of the ryots it is said- "Their present profits little exceed what is required for a bare subsistence. Their condition is oppressed and miserable." And again - "In this district the ryots are so excessively poor, that most of them are bought and sold with the estates on which they live. They are, in fact, most of them slaves". "Their food consists of a little rice mixed with common herbs procured from the jungle and a little salt, and this only once a day". The rules prescribed by Regulation VIII of 1793 for their protection were entirely neglected, and they were utterly ignorant of their rights.

The demands made on them by their landlords were entirely arbitrary, and enforced by armies of peons. Not one *zamindar* in a hundred granted *pottahs* to his ryots. They were deeply involved in debt, both to their landlord and to the village *mahajan*. Mr. Sterling says: "The Sasan Brahmins are the only cultivators or land proprietors of Orissa who manifest any symptoms of a disposition to improve their system of agriculture, or to raise any plant or produce beyond what the wants of nature absolutely demand".

Extract from Government Resolution on Mr. Ker's report

In passing orders on the report submitted by Mr. Ker on the state of Orissa in 1818, the Governor-General in Council says : "Anxious as Government is to ascertain in the fullest manner the practical effect of its laws, His Lordship must ever consider any officer holding so important a situation as that of a Collector of a district essentially to fail in his duty if, perceiving any material defect in the existing system, he shall for a long period of time neglect to propose a remedy, or at lease to indicate the evil. It affords the Government the greatest satisfaction to receive from the local authorities a full and free

explanation of their settlements on the probable effect of any general measure adopted or contemplated by Government. It is indeed above all things important that Government should not remain in ignorance of the extent to which its institutions fall short of accomplishing their ends."

One year settlement of 1821-22, and its results

On the subject of settlements there is but little more to be related. The triennial settlement of Regulation VI of 1816 was, by Regulation XIII, of 1818, extended to the end of the year 1821-22 (*Amli* 1229), and detailed instructions were issued for recording the rights of the cultivators and securing them against fraud and oppression. The *yearly jama* was reduced by Rs. 11,009, and only eighteen sales were held of estates bearing a *sadr jama* of Rs.8,849. This settlement was extended for five years by Regulation VII of 1822, with the result of an increase of Rs. 61,751 to the annual *jama*, and without any sales being held for arrears of revenue. A reference to Appendix 1, page 96, will show at a glance the financial results of the revenue measures of which we have treated in this part.

Conclusion of the subject of settlements:

The history of the internal and revenue administration of the province as a whole,– as one district, that, this is, under a single Collector,– ceases with the year 1828. Thenceforth each of the present districts of Balasore, Cuttack, and Pooree, as its own local records, history, and traditions, which will best be treated of separately in the form of district manuals starting from 1829. In these also the subject of tenures, settlements, &c., will best be discussed as it may be said that up to the end of the period under review the district officers possessed no detailed information respecting the rights and privileges of the various classes possessing an interest in the soil. At any rate, no such information is to be found in the records of the above period. My labour will not have

been in vain if I have succeeded in giving such a sketch of the period which preceded the introduction of a more enlightened revenue system as will form a starting point for future workers in the same field.

Sources of revenue other than the land revenue

I propose to notice such other sources of public income as the Government for the time being possessed besides the land revenue. The Marathas by no means confined themselves to fixed and stated sources of revenue, as the extract given in page 28 will show; but they appear to have raised money by direct taxation – by means of (1) a pilgrim-tax (2) a house-tax, and (3) by the imposition of octroi or transit duties. I proceed to furnish on the above heads such information as the early records afford.

The pilgrim–tax

The old route for pilgrims from the upper province was through the territories of the Rajas of Moharbhanj and Nilgiri, both of whom appear to have levied from them fees or taxes on their own account. The collection of the tax on behalf of the Maratha Government commenced at a place called Khunta Ghat, on the borders of the Moharbhanj territory. Along the road from that place to the Athara Nala Bridge at Pooree *tahsildars* were stationed to collect tolls from the pilgrims passing through each station. The tahsildar to whom the pilgrims paid their toll, granted them a pass specifying their number, rank, the amount paid, &c.; and this exempted them from payment at the other stations. The rates fixed for payment by the several classes of pilgrims were fixed by the Government, but were never strictly adhered to, and much extortion was practised by the *tahsildars*. The poorest class, called *kangals*, who could not pay the tax, were generally detained for some hours at each station, in order that they might be searched and their alleged poverty otherwise tested. Doubtless many were passed as unable to pay by the simple expedient of a small fee to the collector of the tax. Their

poverty was again tested, however, at the last station on the Athara Nala Bridge at the north entrance to the town of Pooree. At the time of the minor festivals the test by search and detention was not, as a rule, a very severe one: but at the principle jatras of the Rath, Dol, Asnan, &c. those who claimed exemption as kangals were detained outside the barrier until the principal day of each festival. The consequence of this restriction can be imagined. Huddled together in crowds, without proper food or shelter from the weather, in a place surrounded by jheels and noxious vegetation, thousands must have fallen victims to disease engendered by exposure and privation. Of those who escaped the pernicious consequences of this detention, numbers perished in the rush which always ensued when the barriers were at last opened to them. Pilgrims from the south were subject to similar restrictions. It was a common practice for a party of pilgrims to march under convoy of a *panda*, and this system was encouraged by the Maratha Government, as the *panda* was held responsible for the payment of the proper tax due from each pilgrim of his party, and that no persons of low caste were allowed to enter the temple. The pilgrims preferred it, as it saved them a considerable delay at the colllecting stations, and the *panda*, probably protected them from the extortions of every one except himself. The relative positions of a pilgrim and his *panda* may be compared to those of a ryot and his *mukhtar* in the present day. Besides the tax collected at the various stations on the road, pilgrims from the westward and from Hindoostan paid a fee of from 4 *pan* 12-1/2 *gandas* of cowries to 3 *pan* 7-1/2 *gandas*, according to rank, when they performed the ceremony of going round the *singhhasan*, or throne. The people of Bengal are said not to have regarded this ceremony as necessary. The proceeds of this fee were supposed to be all credited to Government, but the *pandas* and the chief Officers of the temple generally kept back a half, and only credited the remainder.

Revenue derived by native Governments from the pilgrim-tax

The average annual revenue derived by the Marathas from the

pilgrim-tax and other fees connected with the great temple of Jagannath at Pooree is said to have been about two lakhs of rupees (sicca), but under the last Mugal governor it was as high as nine lakhs.

Abolition of the tax on the British acquisition of the province

So great were the abuses under the system which has been briefly described, that the Commissioners for settling affairs of the province made it one of their first duties to abolish the tax altogether.

In the unsettled state of the country it was not possible for them to give the subject the attention it demanded if any through reform were contemplated. It is very probable that in spite of this order, which, however well it might be known to the inhabitants of the province itself, would hardly have reached the ears of many actual if intending pilgrims from other parts of India, the tax continued to be levied for their own benefit by tributary Rajas and by *zamindars* through whose territory the pilgrims passed.

Reimposition of the tax in 1805

Thus it continued to be openly levied in Moharbhanj and Nilgiri until the new Jagannath road was finished, and the Rani of the former state, claimed and obtained compensation from Government for the loss of revenue sustained. However that may be, the Commissioners early in 1805 addressed the Government with a view of reimposing the tax, and obtained its sanction to their proposals. They give as their reasons for this course the following :- (1) that the reimposition of the tax would give confidence to pilgrims that the expenses of the temple would be regularly and permanently defrayed by the Government, and its attention would be directed to their protection from extortion; (2) that the heavy annual charge thrown on Government for the repair of and maintenance of the establishment of the temple was a burden which the public revenue could no longer conveniently and should no longer equitably, sustain. In accordance with the recommendation

of the Commissioners, Mr. James Hunter was appointed collector of the tax on pilgrims and superintendent of the affairs of the temple at Pooree under Regulation V of 1806. The system of collection appears to have been radically the same as that of the Marathas, but greater checks were exercised over the collecting agents ; and though it was impossible to prevent extortion and abuses altogether, they were, it may be assumed, somewhat less than before. In 1813 thirty four persons were crushed to death on the great day of the Rath Jatra in the frantic efforts made to pass through the gates when they were thrown open to the *kangals* who had undergone their period of probationary detention outside. The arrival of a rich pilgrim and opening of the barrier gate for him, often occasioned a rush of the above nature, and resulted in similar accidents. The crush was always far greater as the Athara Nala Bridge than at the southern barrier. Complaints which under the Maratha rule the pilgrims would never have dreamed of making, poured in in large numbers to the collector of the tax. The chief grievances of the pilgrims were– (1) their detention at the barriers, (2) the exactions of the Government collectors of the tax and of the officers of the temple, (3) the rule which allowed a residence in Pooree of only a certain limited number of days to certain classes of pilgrims. They had consequently to pay for re-admission if their ceremonies were not duly concluded within their time specified, and their servants, being of lower rank than themselves, had to leave the town earlier than they and await their arrival outside the barrier. The first two grounds of complaint were also rife under the Marathas, but the third was due to an innovation made after our conquest of the province, and the then Collector considered that it led to a serious loss of revenue. He goes on to say that "the revenue of the district chiefly depends on the resort of pilgrims to Jagannath"; a somewhat questionable assertion, based probably on the consideration that the pilgrims were the chief cause of the influx and circulation of capital and money into the province. With regard to the exactions

of the native Collectors of the tax, it was impossible to bring home a case against any of them. They sheltered themselves from the accusation under a plea of zeal for the public service, and alleged that the charges against them were made by rich pilgrims in revenge for their integrity in assessing them with the proper tax instead of letting them go free. In 1814 several reforms were introduced in the working of the tax. Masonry barriers were erected at the Athara Nala, and the collector of the tax was ordered to be present there daily in person ; a pilgrim hospital was established under a native doctor; and a guard of sepoys was sent from Cuttack to prevent that overcrowding and rushing at the barriers which had been the cause of the loss of so many lives. The only case mentioned in the records of self-immolation under the wheels of the car occurred in this year (1814), when an old women volutarily threw herself under it. Two other persons were crushed by it accidentally; but no casualty occurred at the barriers, where in previous years the loss of life was considerable. In a resolution of the same year (1814) the Governor-General in Council says: "The tax is now generally established on a permanent basis, and may be in future regarded within certain limits as a certain and permanent resource to Government". It was abolished by Act X of 1840. I have touched but cursorily on this subject, as it belongs more properly to a history of the Pooree district. Those who wish to pursue the subject further, can consult Pegg's History of the Orissa Mission, Rajkissore Ghose's History of the Temple, and Dr. Hunter's Orissa. A long and detailed report on the subject by Mr. Charles Groeme will be found in Volume 1 of Letters Sent in the Cuttack Collectorate. I append what few figures I could gleam from the Cuttack records.

In 1807-08 the total number of pilgrims to Pooree was 83,685. Of these 56,763 entered the town from the north, and 26,922 from the south ; 72,051 were exempted from payment of any tax as *kangals*, and 11,634 paid taxes amounting to Rs. 40,500 (sicca). From 1807-08 to 1813-14 the collections averaged Rs. 68,350 (sicca) yearly. In

1813-14 they were Rs. 1,23,118 (sicca), and in 1814-15 Rs. 2,08,519 (sicca). The Collector writing in 1814, says that with proper supervision the annual collections should never be less than five lakhs of sicca rupees. But from the figures given above, this estimate would appear to be much too sanguine.

House-tax

But meagre information is afforded by the records on this subject. The Marathas levied the tax professedly only in the larger towns, but it may be assumed that a minimum revenue found its way to the coffers of the state with a maximum of extortion and oppression (see the extract from the Central Provinces' Gazetteer, page 28). In Pooree the number of houses during the Maratha times was 9,396. Of these 575 were exempted from the tax, as being religious institutions, and the annual revenue derived from the remainder was Rs. 10,159(sicca). The tax was abolished by the Commissioners on the British acquisition of the province, probably on account of the houses which existed in the assessment and collection of it. It was reimposed, in the town of Cuttack only, by Regulation XV of 1810. Pooree and Balasore were exempted from the operations of the above Regulation, there being no resident collector as either place. In 1811 a "receiver of house-tax" was appointed under Regulation IV of 1811, and his remuneration was 4 per cent. on the collections. I cannot discover in the records any mention of the sum which the tax produced, or of the number of houses assessed with it. The above Regulations were rescinded and the tax abolished by Regulation VII of 1812, the first section of which alleges as the reason that "the Governor General in Council is anxious to promote the case and convenience of the inhabitants generally.............by relieving them from the payment of the above-mentioned tax." It had caused great dissatisfaction all over the country, and in some towns open resistance; and as a first attempt at quasi-municipal taxation, was decidedly a failure.

Octroi and transit duties

Octroi duties were levied by the Marathas on merchandise entering towns, and the proceeds were devoted to the expenses of the *kotwali* and *thana* establishments. We have here therefore in embryo a system of local taxation for local purposes. The collection of these duties was not abolished when we took the province, but was entrusted to one Gholam Samin as a temporary measure, and in 1804 transferred to the Collector. The merchants complained that they had to pay duty on the same goods at different places; and to prevent them from thus assuming the nature of transit duties, the Commissioners established a system of passes which obviated the grievance complained of. In June 1805 special customs rules and a tariff were promulgated for Orissa. The practice then prevalent of collecting duties and customs at various *chaukis* was abolished, and all goods imported and exported by land or sea were to be protected by a pass or *rawana* and pay an *ad valorem* duty of 2-1/2 per cent. The following goods were exempt from import and export duty: quadrupeds, bullion, precious stones, Government opium, vehicles of all kinds, religious images, and agricultural implements and tools.

The chief exports liable to duty were in 1813 piece-goods, bees-wax, iron, oil, lac, stone, and timber.'[33] The export of saltpetre by sea or land was strictly prohibited, as was also the export of salt by sea except on account of Government. If exported by land, salt paid a duty of 4 annas per maund; but if purchased at a Government golah and covered by a *rawana*, it paid no duty. Grain exported by sea paid a duty of Re. 1 (sicca) per 100 maunds, besides a port clearance fee of Rs.5(sicca) for each vessel. It could be imported free. Sterling says that the customs and transit duties collected at the several small ports and inland chaukis from the Subanreekha to the Dhamrah did not, at the time he wrote (about 1817), exceed sicca Rs. 30,000 yearly, and that the whole value of the imports and exports which paid duty was only sicca Rs. 2, 97, 285. As the

only ports then in existence were in the district of Balasore, fuller information on these points will probably be found in the records of that Collectorate.

Chowkidari-tax :

One unsuccessful attempt at direct taxation has already been alluded to. The imposition in the town of Cuttack of the chowkidari-tax under Regulations XIII of 1813 and III of 1814 gave rise to still greater dissatisfaction ; and hoping that their previous resistance to the imposition of the house-tax might be repeated with equal success, the people assembled in large crowds in different parts of the town and clamoured for the repeal of the newly imposed tax. All efforts of the police to disperse them were unavailing, and the presence and personal influence of the Magistrate failed equally to induce the people to return to their homes and resume their ordinary occupations. The shops were closed and business was suspended for several days. One large body of people left the town, and encamping on the banks of the Mahandi, prevented the ingress of grain from the interior. They demanded, as the condition of their return, a pledge that Government would abolish, and never re-impose the tax. They were daily joined by increased number, and all efforts of the Magistrate and the police to disperse them having proved futile, recourse was at length had to the assistance of the military authorities. On the approach of a body of sepoys, the malcontents dispersed pell-mell in every direction without offering any resistance. Twelve of the ringleaders were captured and no further opposition was offered to the imposition or collection of the tax. The town was divided for this purpose into 17 *mohallas* or wards ; but this number was subsequently reduced to 6, as shown below.

No.	Name of Ward or Mahalla	No. of Chokidars employed in each ward	Cost of Chowkidars at Rs. 3 sicca each per mensem	No. of houses in each ward
1	Balu Bazar	12	36	1,199
2	Telinga Bazar	15	45	1,612
3	Kafla Bazar	7	21	1,046
4	Ganga Manzul	6	18	722
5	Kadam Rasul	5	15	622
6	Buxi Bazar	12	36	1,190
	Total:	57	171	6,391

In 1827 the number of houses had increased to 7,046.

In spite of every attempt to assess it lightly and equitably, the tax was as intensely unpopular as it is at the present day. Writing in 1818, the Joint Magistrate says:– "The assessment of the chowkidari-tax seems more offensive here to the people than in any part of the country I am acquainted with. Much of this feeling is due to the causes which make our Government generally unpopular in the province, and also from the very small practical benenfit derived from the chowkidars. "The tax was abolished in the same year owing to the urgent representations of the Magistrate as to "the great abuses which have hitherto prevailed to the great annoyance of the people without adequate benefit, the quiet and peaceable state of the town, and to the extreme poverty of the inhabitants". Thus failed a second attempt at quasi-municipal taxation. The reader cannot fail to be struck with the circumstances of the withdrawal of the house and chowkidari taxes after they had been deliberately imposed by separate Acts of the Legislature and opposed to the utmost by the people. That no, such opposition would have been offered to the Maratha Government, is certain. The fact appears to be that the policy of our early rule was not generally successful or acceptable to the people. The sudden transition from the Maratha oppressor to the English Collector of the *ma-bap* stamp, from the

rule of thumb to the Bengal Code of Regulation- elaborated to suit a province the history and circumstances of which were entirely different from those Orissa - led the people to believe that the Maratha *amal* or era of oppression was to be succeeded by an era of remission of all payments whatever to the public purse. It would have been far better both the Government and the people if Orissa had remained a non-regulation province. The transition from one extreme form of Government to the other would then have been less felt and more really appreciated.

Abkari

The Marathas do not appear to have paid any attention to this source of public revenue, and spirituous liquors were, during their occupation, manufactured, and opium grown in and imported from the hill states and sold without any restriction whatever. The people were, however, generally too poor to purchase luxuries of the kind, and it is probable that the consumption of exciseable articles was but small even as late as 1814. Though the excise regulations of Bengal had previously been extended to Orissa, it was not until the above year that any special attention was given to the subject. The Collector had more important work on his hands in the way of settlements and other matters connected with the land revenue of the vast change committed to his care. The first public distillery was built at Cuttack in 1814, and three kinds of spirits were made at it, viz. (1) from sugar or molasses ; (2) from grain, generally rice; (3) from the blossom of the *mowah*. The tax levied on these spirits was 10 per cent. on the prime cost of the first kind, and slightly higher on the two other inferior kinds, in order to encourage the manufacture of the former. The cost of making the first kind was 7 annas, and it sold for about 14 annas (sicca) per gallon.The other two kinds cost from 2 to 5 annas and sold for from 4 to 12 annas (sicca) per gallon. Retail liquor-shops paid a tax of 6 annas per diem in 1814. In 1817 the Collector reduced it to 3 annas, but the Board of Revenue, considering this and unwarranted stretch of his

authority, ordered him to raise it to 4 annas per diem, and at this rate it appears to have remained up to 1828.

Before 1814 the *pansis*, or tari-sellers, paid a tax of 25 per cent on the rent paid by them to zamindars for trees. In the above year this was commuted to a daily tax of 4 annas per shop. The establishment of the sudder distillery and the levy of rates on other spirituous liquors led to a decrease in the quantity of them consumed, and to a corresponding increase in the manufacture and sale of *tari*, which was far cheaper. The then Collector, regarding this as an unfavourable result, requested sanction to increase the tax on the *tari* shops to Rs. 2 per diem, a measure which would, as he safely remarks, "practically prohibit its manufacture and sale except for bread-making". But this succeeding remark, to the effect that this would result in an advantage to the people by compelling them to resort to the more pure and wholesome and less intoxicating spirits made at the distillery,– in fact, that morality would increase with the receipts of the distillery,– is hardly so much to point; and it is almost needless to remark that the proposed reform was not introduced, and the nefarious *tari*-sellers and drinkers were left alone.

Opium

The greater part of the abkari revenue of the period from which the abkari laws were put in force in Orissa up to 1828, was derived from the sale of opium. In 1813 the Collector first called the attention of Government to the large quantity of opium annually brought into the province from the hill states. He says in this report: "The inhabitants of Cuttack are so addicted to the use of opium that they hardly exist without it". In consequence of this representation Regulation X of 1813 was put in force in Orissa, and a proclamation was issued declaring all smuggled opium liable to confiscation. The result of this I describe in the Collector's own words: "My cutcherry was surrounded by people praying that licenses might be issued immediately. One or two fakirs placed themselves in front of the

cutcherry-house with ropes round their necks, vowing they would hang themselves if they were not supplied with opium. Offers to buy opium from the Collectorate and pay a tax of Rs. 9 per diem have been received...........The people of this district may be said to live on opium, and they are very choice respecting it". The Collector's estimate of nine maunds as the probable consumption for a year hardly bears out these remarks; but we may assume that in the absence (or indeed presence, for the matter of that) of any special agency for the prevention of smuggling, which was largely and almost openly carried on, especially at Balasore, he meant the amount likely to be purchased from the Collectorate to be mixed with the contraband drug. The poppy was not apparently cultivated either in the Mughalbandi or in the hill states. Balasore was supplied with smuggled opium from Behar via Moharbunj, and also by sea, and Cuttack and Pooree from Nagpore and Ganjam. In Balasore the presence of the French and Danish settlements materially assisted the illicit traffic in and sale of the drug. In November 1813 four shops in Cuttack and two in Pooree were sanctioned, each paying a daily tax of sicca Rs. 5. The Collector had proposed the establishment of a much larger number, but the Governor-General in Council had modified the proposal in the hope of discouraging the consumption of the drug. The first supply of Government opium (three chests containing 40 cakes each) was not received until August 1815. It was sold retail at sicca Rs. 26 to 32 in Cuttack per Cuttack seer of 105 tolahs; in Balasore at sicca Rs. 12 to 14 per Balasore seer of 80 tolahs. The consumption of Government opium increased rapidly. For 1814 we have seen that the Collector's indent was for only nine maunds; for 1815 it was 25 maunds, and the estimate of revenue on the later quantity, sicca Rs. 20,000. So rapid indeed was the increase, that it was a matter of considerable difficulty to keep up the supply from Calcutta, the communications with which were very imperfect both by land and sea. In May 1816 we find the stock running short and the Collector proposing to buy contraband opium for current consumption at the rate of sicca Rs.

10 per seer, as "there were persons in the town who would die if deprived of it".

In 1816 the number of shops for the sale of opium in Orissa was increased to thirteen, and the retail price fell to sicca Rs.22-11-6 per Cuttack seer in consequence of the increased competition.

Not withstanding these favourable circumstances, the Collector states in 1817 that by far the greater quantity of opium consumed in the province was smuggled, and that until this illicit traffic was put a stop to, the Government revenue would continue to be less than it ought to be. He also states that a large trade was carried on in *ganja*, which was "sold without license in all parts of the district, and grown in every garden and compound".

The remedy proposed and sanctioned was hardly adequate to the extent of the evil. This was the appointment of an abkari *jemadar* of circuit on sicca Rs. 10 per mensem, with four *burkandazes* under him, whose duty it was to be constantly moving about from pergunnah to pergunnah making inquiries and reporting the result of them weekly to the Collector. The plan was apparently furtile, as will readily be imagined. The Cuttack records afford but little information on the subject of abkari revenue generally. And the only figures I could find are given below.

Year	Abkari	revenue of the province.
	Sicca Rs.	Cot's Rs.
1811	10,280	10,965
1814	11,742	12,525
1815	12,288	13,107
1816	15,000	16,000

Manufacture, &c. of salt

It is not my intention to enter into any details on this important subject, but merely to sketch the general outline of changes introduced during the period under review.

During the Maratha period the profits of the salt lands were

enjoyed solely by the proprietors. On May 4th 1804 a temporary regulation was enacted, reserving to Government the exclusive right of making salt in the province of Orissa or district of Cuttack, as it was then called. The manufacture was at once commenced in the nothern division, under the supervision of the Magistrate as a temporary arrangement.This continued until December 1805, when Mr. J. King arrived and took over charge as first Salt Agent of the northern division. In February 1807 the Salt Department in Orissa was brought under the Bengal rules and regulations; but it was not until 1815 that the manufacture on behalf of Government was extended to the southern division (by Regulation XXII of 1814) and placed under Mr. Becher as Salt Agent. The *jagirdar* of Malud (who was a jemadar of cavalry under the Marathas, and had been confirmed in his grant for services rendered to the British troops on the acquisition of the province,) disputed the right Government to make salt within his grant. The Government disallowed the claim, on the ground that nothing in the terms of his grant exempted him from the operation of the general regulations. In 1819 all the salt laws and rules were consolidated by and in Regulation X of that year. The immediate effect of the Government monopoly was of course to raise the price of salt to a very serious extent. This was felt as a great grievance by the people, and was alleged to be one of the principal causes of dissatisfaction with our rule which found vent in the Khurdha rebellion of 1817, an account of which has been given in Part 1. On this subject we have the testimony of the Collector, who, writing in 1813, says: "During the Maratha Government salt was in such plenty as to be an article of little value. It was to be purchased for three annas a maund. The natives, by way of expressing how plentiful it was, say that a maund of salt would be given for a seer of grain. It is only since the province has been in possession of the English that sale has become an article of value "And we have the evidence of Mr. Sterling himself in his work on Orissa that the price of salt had been enhanced from 400

to 500 per cent. Mr. Ewer also says that salt sold under the Maratha Government at 4-1/2 maunds per Arcot rupee at the place of manufacture, or less than one-eighth of its present price at the *arangs* (see paragraphs 85 to 92 of his report).

In this case, as in our early management of the land revenue, the fatal policy of a too sudden leap from one extreme to the other is painfully apparent. Between 1814 and 1816 the average annual amount of salt sold was 157,035 Cuttack maunds, and from 1818 to 1822, 2,00,000 maunds. The cost to the consumer was about sicca Rs. 3-4 per maund. The price at the Government golahs was the fixed monopoly of sicca Rs. 2 per maund plus the expenses of carriage, storage, &c., which generally brought it up to sicca Rs. 2-3 to sicca Rs. 2-6, Sterling says that the net revenue yielded by the salt monopoly in Orissa was little short of eighteen lakhs sicca rupees, of which three lakhs were on account on sales in Orissa and fifteen lakhs on account of exportations by sea to Calcutta.

Progress of the Uriya in education, &c.

I shall conclude this part with a few remarks tending to show that in one respect at least the natives of the province have improved under our rule. When we first acquired it in 1803 there was hardly a single native of Orissa in Government employ. The language of the courts and public offices was Persian, and it was not until 1805 that the Commissioners directed that in all written communications with the natives of the province, the subject should be written in Uriya as well as in Persian. This order necessitated the employment of Uriya mohurirs, who, though skilful enough with their iron pen and bundle of palm leaves, were almost helpless when required to write on paper with an ordinary pen. They are said to have been slow in acquiring any facility in the (to them new method of writing, ignorant of business in general, and especially of the English system of revenue accounts (as indeed they well might be). All the best ministerial appointments were consequently in the hands of Bengali *amla*, who, attracted by the high pay that had

to be offered to procure the requisite standard of efficiency, left their homes in Bengal, and bringing their families with them, settled in the province and became naturalized Uriyas; their descendants hold at the present day the chief offices in the various courts of revenue, criminal, and civil law. They had ample opportunities of making money independently of their pay, and they did not hesitate to take advantage of them. Bribery, corruption, peculation, and forgery, were rife in all the courts and public offices,– notably in the Judge's. The Collector in 1816 stated that it was a regular and well-known practice for *zamindars* to bribe the *amla* to get petitions, settlement papers, and other documents passed through the office with the orders wished for duly recorded on them. In the same way forged *sanads* and other deeds were passed into the office and brought before the Collector as genuine. The *nazir* and his *buxi*, under cover of the law, made large sums by placing peons in surveillance over *zamindars* and others and charging them for their pay and subsistence.

The amount thus openly levied in 1815 was sicca Rs. 3,480, and a much larger sum was doubtless levied which never appeared in the public accounts at all. Matters appear to have improved, but slowly, as time went on. In 1821 the Magistrate writes as follows:- "Scarcely a single real Uriya receives a salary of more than Rs. 10 per mensem, but several are naturalized Bengalis or Mussulmans. I always give a preference to Uriyas, but at this moment I scarcely know a single Uriya possessing qualifications to fit him for being a common mohurir". He however adds, which is some improvement on the previous state of affairs, – "The people do not at present suffer from *any severe* oppression from the amla". The italics are mine.

It is to be feared that the native officers of higher rank were but little less venal and corrupt than the ministerial officers. In 1828 we find the moonsiffs of Bhadrak and Patamundi charged with corruption, embezzlement, and various other crimes. The former

caused his cutcherry to be burnt down to prevent exposure; the latter made away with his records in some other manner, and declared they had been stolen by burglars. Mr. Ricketts, a friend of the native, and not likely to speak unadvisedly against him, writing of the *amla* in 1828, says : "No care, attention, shrewdness, or circumspection, can provide efficient checks to their innate and incorrigible roguery". In the present day, though we have provided tolerable safeguards against any flagrant cases of corruption, we know that bribery is still almost invariably resorted to; and so long as the people generally consent to offer bribes, we are powerless to prevent the *amla* from taking them.

FOOT NOTES :

*10. Vide Appendix, Page 1

*11. Introduction to the Central Provinces' Gazeiteer.

*12. Pace Dr. Hunter, who says in Appendix IV, page 144 of his recent work on Orissa, that 1829 is "the first year of which regular records survive." The English records in the Cuttack Collector's office are almost complete for the period between 1803 and 1828.

*13. Throughout these pages the word rupee is to be understood as meaning Company's rupee unless it be otherwise distinctly stated.

*14. Commissioners to collector, Vol. 1, Letters Sent, 1803

*15. The exact number of *sanads* field between Amli 1211 and 1216 was 128, 141; the amount of land claimed as rent-free under them was 813,000 acres – Vol.27 Letters Received.

*16. The mofussil kistbundi differed considerably from the above, and the zamidars invariably collected from their ryots in anticipation of the Government kist – Collector to Commissioner, 23rd May 1877.

*17. Among these was the Government estate of Noanand, Pargana Sanh at Balasore. Its sadr jama was at the time of sale Rs. 9,456, and the purchase-money Rs. 5,013. In 1808 it was again brought to sale and purchased by Government for Re.1. The original proprietor was Krishna Prasad Rai Kanungo. Taluka Rghunathnagar, in the pargana, berajng a *sadr jama* of Rs. 5.17, realized only Rs. 224 at public auction.

*18. Section 5, Regulation X of 1807 runs thus – "The Governor-General in Council, however, hereby notifies to the *zamindars* and other actual proprietors of land in the ceded and conquered provinces that the *jama* which may be assessed on their estates in the last year of the settlement immediately ensuing the present settlement shall remain fixed for ever in case the *Zamindars* shall now be willing to engage for the payment of the public revenue on those terms in perpetuity, and the arrangement shall receive the sanction of the Hon'ble Court of Directors". And Section 6 says - The principle of the foregoing rule shall also be in force in the zillah of Cuttack, and shall be accordingly carried into effect in that zillah under the orders and superintendence of the Board of Revenue". These sections were rescinded by Section 2, Regulation X of 1812, Section 3 of which, however, distinctly renews the promise of a permanent settlement at the lapsing of the year 1822, made in Clause 6, Section 4, Regulation XII of 1805. The promise was repeated in Clause 3, Section 2, Regulation I of 1813, and again in Section 6, Regulation III of 1815.

*19. For the correspondence on this subject, see Vol.17, Letters Sent, 1822.

*20. This necessitated a considerable increase in the *khas mahal* establishment, and some very useful reforms were in 1816 introduced into the working of it. One of these was that all notices of demand should issue from the Collector's *Khas mahal* office and be signed by him, thus preventing the *tahsildars* and others from making arbitrary demands on the *sarbarakars* and ryots.

*21. For a despatch from the Court of Directors on this subject, see Vol 22, Letters

Received, February 1818.

*22. The actual figure is Rs. 11,76,037– Collector to Revenue Board, 23rd May 1817.

*23. The prevent the collusion of the amla, the Board ordered in 1813 that sealed tenders should be received for the purchase of the such estates.

*24. Collector to Commissioner, Vol.17, Letters Sent, November 1823.

*25. Collector to Revenue, Board, September 1817.

*26. See Appendix page

*27. Sadr jama Rs. 4,24,266

*28. Sadr jama Rs. 1,47,625

*29. Mr. Ker's recommendations on these points were embodied in Regulation X of 1812, which provides for the issue of *dastaks*, the imprisonment of defaulters in the civil jail, the attachment of estates, the sale of movable and personal property for arrears of revenue, and prescribes the sale of the estate as the last, instead of the first, resort.

*30. Collector to Accountant-General, December 1812.

*31. On this subject see Mr. Ewer's report, paragraphs 93 to 124

*32. *Vide* his report in Vol. 24, Letters Received, October 1818.

*33. Sterling's Orissa

PART III

Police – Crime &c.

Criminal system of the Marathas

In so far as they recognised any system of criminal justice, the Marathas appear to have followed the tenets and practice of the Mahomedan law; but in matters of dispute about caste or other religious observances, the Hindu law was followed. Some of the *sadr kanungos* were appointed *goshtipati,* or president of caste *panchayats*, and settled all disputes of this nature. The *mahashaya* of Kaupur's* [34] ancestors held this post, and he has the *sanad* still. The *amil*, as the chief authority in criminal matters, had powers of a *nazim*, and investigated and decided all heinous cases, such as murder and dacoity. Minor offences were referred by him for disposal to the *ahdadars* and *zamindars*. These latter had also original cognizance of petty cases occurring within the limits of their respective revenue jurisdictions. The duties and responsibilities of the police were also in their hands. The procedure in criminal cases was regulated to a certain extent by law, at least in theory; but in practice each officer followed the bent of his own inclination or predilection, not only in the mode of trial, but also as to the amount and kind of punishment to be inflicted. The most common, as it was the most popular, procedure in criminal cases not of a heinous nature, was reference to arbitration. The members of the *panchayat* could be named either by the referring officer or by the parties themselves. In the former case an order was issued ordering a *panchayat* to try the case. The *panchayat*, or receipt of their instructions, demanded from the parties a written agreement to abide by their decision, which if such agreement was given, became final. If the disputants, however, refused to accept the decision of the *panchayat* as final, the latter forwarded them, with the result of their investigation, to the *nazim* or to the *ahdadar*, who disposed of the case finally on the report of the *panchayat*. If the members of the *panchayat* were elected by parties who did not agree to abide

finally by their decision, they could not send them with their decision to the *nazim* or to the *ahdadar* for disposal, but could only give the successful party a copy of it and leave him to enforce it as best he could. If it were agreed that the decision of the *panchayat* appointed by the parties themselves was to be final, the procedure was the same as in a similar case referred by an officer with jurisdiction.

Police arrangements of the Marathas

The general superintendence of the police vested in the *amils*, who were responsible to Government for its efficiency; the *ahdadars* and *zamindars* were in their turn responsible to the *amils*. The chief executive officer of the police was the *kotwal*, and under him were the *khandayats*, *paiks*, and village watchmen or chowkidars. The *kotwal* also rendered occasional assistance in the collection of revenue. The basis of the whole system was the sole individed responsibility of each landholder for the peace and good order of his own estate and its freedom from crime. So long as this responsibility was strictly maintained, the system worked well; as soon as it was divided, it broke down.

Changes made by the English

For the first year for the British occupation the Commissioners for settlling the affairs of the province preserved the old system intact as they found it, merely transferring from the *amils* to themselves the power of general superintendence and the cognizance of crimes of any magnitude or heinousness. By Regulation IV of 1804 the criminal law and rules in force in Bengal were extended to Orissa (except the Tributary States) and the superintendence of the police was vested in the Magistrate (who was also Judge) under the general control of the Commissioners. Provision was also made for the appointment of *darogahs* and the establishment of *thanas*. The former responsibilities of the landholders were at the same time expressly declared to be continued according to the terms of their tenures and the usages of the

country. Regulation XIII of 1805 extended these provisions, and stipulated that when the chief *zamindars* had not been formally divested of their police powers and responsibilities, the office of *darogah* should vest in them within the limits of their respective estates. When they had been so divested, khandayats were to be appointed under the special darogahs, registers of paiks and their service lands were to be prepared, and the latter were declared to be resumable on account of misconduct or disobedience, but only by the Nizamat Adalat on the report of the Magistrate.

Establishment of thanas

From 1st May 1806 thanas were established at the following places, the figures in parentheses being the number of villages in the jurisdiction of each :– 1, Basta (551); 2, Balasore (536); 3, Soro (622), 4, Bhadrak (949); 5, Jajipur (679); 6, Arakpur (706); 7, Asareswar (541); 8, Muto (305); 9, Cuttack (338); 10, Pipli (654); 11, Pooree (550); 12, Gop (775); 13, Tiran (508); 14, Hariharpur (811); 15, Pahrajpur (460); 16, Khurdha (917). The thanas of Churamani in Balasore and Banpur in Khurdha were established subsequently, and the Asareswar thana was removed to Kendrapara in 1816. The standard scale of establishment for each mofussil thana was one daroga on sicca Rs. 25 per mensem; one mohurir on sicca Rs. 10; one jamadar on sicca Rs. 8; and ten burkandazes on sicca Rs. 4 each; total, sicca Rs. 83. The control of the police was vested in the Magistrate, but he was hampered by restrictions imposed by the Nizamat Adalat. For instance in 1815 the Joint-Magistrate of Balasore was severely censured for dismissing the darogah of Balasore for taking bribes, and was directed in future to report such cases to the court of circuit for orders. All real power centred in the person of the darogah, and he was practically uncontrolled and absolute. Most of the landholders, though divested of none of their nominal responsibilities, had no means of upholding their authority or of resisting the encroachments of the darogahas. They became therefore in practice a mere non-entity, and the regulations defining their police duties and responsibilities a dead letter.

Increase of crime under the darogahs

Crime consequently increased, and the tyrannies of the new police became unbearable. Not a quarrel could happen in any family but the police made capital out of it. Regulation VII of 1811 therefore limited their interference "to the maintenance of the public tranquillity and to the adoption of the prescribed measures for bringing to justice persons accused of the commission of those species of crimes which are most injurious to the peace and happiness of society." They were prohibited from taking up cases of a private nature, such as adultery, calumay, abusive language, and the petty assaults. Regulation I of 1811 further provided increased penalties for house-breaking and burglaries, and Regulation III of 1812 declared landholders responsible for giving timely information of the commission of robberies within their estates, and declared punishable with whipping chowkidars proved guilty of gross neglect. These measures were rendered necessary by the utter inefficiency of the police in putting a stop to petty thefts and burglaries, which became about that time alarmingly prevalent.

The village chowkidars

Of the village chowkidars, the Magistrate says in 1813: "It is notorious that the generality of the watchmen are themselves the thieves on most occasions. This arises from their not being sufficiently paid for their trouble by the landholder, whose interest it is to protect the property of the tenants." The *zamindars* themselves had the reputation, especially in Jajipur and Bhadrak, of being hereditary receivers of stolen goods, if indeed they did not take a still more active part in crimes against property.

Under these circumstances it is not to be wondered at that the authorities could make no head against this description of crime. Matters appear to have been as bad in 1821 as they were in 1811 in this respect. Writing in the former year, the Magistrate attributes the prevalence of petty thefts and burglaries to the extreme poverty and wretchedness of the lower classes, their loose notions of honesty,

and the ease and impunity with which such offences could be perpetrated. He remarks, with reason, on the probability that a vast number of cases occurred which were never reported to the police, such was the dread the people had of them. The smallness of the value of property stolen, and the delay, expense, and uncertainty of a prosecution, and the hopelessness of redress, combined to impress on the sufferer the conviction that his first loss was the least; so he wisely determined to bear it in silence. The village chowkidar was probably the only person who could throw any light on the matter, and as he was generally either a principal or an accomplice, it was not likely that he would volunteer any information to the police.

When Mr. Ricketts was acting Magistrate in 1827, the evil had but little abated. He was not slow to recognise the fact that the village chowkidar was the real backbone of the whole police system, and he saw in the improvement of his pay and position the only hope of remedying the then prevalent evil. He says that there were some villages twenty-five, thirty, and even forty miles distant from the thanas to which they belonged as regards their police jurisdiction, though within easy reach of some other thana to which they did not so belong. In some places one single chowkidar had charge of fifteen or sixteen villages, so far apart from each other that it was utterly impossible for him to visit them once daily. In many parts of the district the provisions of Section 9, Regulation XII of 1805, which expressly forbids the resumption by *zamindars* of chowkidars' tenure lands, had been utterly ignored, and their lands had been resumed so long that it was impossible to ascertain either their position or their quantity. Mr. Beames has kindly furnished me with the following extract from the Balasore records:*[35] "The greater part of these *jagirs* have, I know, been illegally attached and taken possession of by the several *zamindars*, and consequently not one half of the former number of paiks are now entertained. In one estate alone I have reason to believe that 30 were formerly maintained and enjoyed *jagirs* in which only five are now reported;

and even the trifling number now kept up have become so subservient to the *zamindars*, whose orders alone they consider themselves obliged to obey, that unless their *jagirs* can be ascertained and secured to them, and the sirdars made to understand their entire independence, I have no hope of their being of any use as police officers." In many villages the chowkidar's only means of livelihood was a petty tax levied from each inhabitant according to his means. In some villages it is still all he has, and often amounts to Rs. 2 a year only from the whole village. Small as this was, the people preferred being plundered to paying more. The evil was not remedied until after the division of the province into three districts in 1828.

Statistics of crime

How great it was even as late as this, may be judged to some extent by the following figures :

Year	No. of thefts and robberies reported	No. of burglaries reported	Total	Percentage of cases in which convictions were obtained
1825	1,126	543	1,669	3.55
1826	1,318	607	1,925	7.13
1827	1,182	466	1,648	13.02

Cattle-stealing was also very common, and large droves of stolen cattle found their way to Calcutta. Besides these offences against property, which were probably equally prevalent in other districts of Bengal, Orissa had an unenviable reputation for the frequent occurrence of cases of murder and homicide. As early as 1815 the Court of Directors called the attention of the Indian Government to the fact that cases of this kind, distinct from and unaccompanied by any other offence, were of more frequent occurrence in Cuttack than in any other district of Bengal. The only returns which I could find in the records give the number for the whole province as follows :

Year	No. of cases of murder reported
1811	17
1812	20
1818	28
1819	12

Dacoity, a crime almost unknown before 1810, became after the Khurdha rebellion (i.e. in 1818), frightfully common. No fewer than one hundred and twenty-eight cases were reported in that year, of which fifteen were accompanied by murder and twelve by wounding. The crime died out with the subsequent pacification of the district, and in 1819 only forty-eight cases were reported. Forgery and perjury were rife in the courts, but it was but seldom that any cases were brought to justice. The reported cases of suttee were as follows :–

Year	Cases
1815	8
1816	9
1817	14
1818	14

A monster case occurred in 1812, when no less than nine widows sacrificed themselves simultaneously on the funeral pile of the Raja of Kanika. The then Magistrate of the district reported strongly against the abolition of the practice, as an uncalled for interference with the religion and custom of the country. However opinions may differ on this subject, there are, I imagine, but few who, knowing the wretched life of Hindu widow, would not admit that death is preferable to the life she leads. On the whole the province may be said to have suffered from crime to a very serious extent, though it was undoubtedly improved in this respect in later years; and whatever may be the deficiencies of the present police, there are but few who would care to see revived the "good old times" of the darogahs.

Abuses of power by the darogahs

The old records contain ample evidence both of their possession of and abuse of power. Their thanas, which they were supposed to build out of their personal and contingent allowances, were in reality built by a system of forced labour and requisitions for materials.*[36] Every criminal case reported to them was a source of income. When they went abroad, they lived on the fat of the land; – took ryots from their fields to carry their baggage, and compelled the villagers to furnish *rasad*, for which they never thought of paying. The troops did the same on the march, and the amla and other underlings followed the general rule. Along the most frequented routes whole villages were sometimes deserted from this cause. Some colour was given to the impressment of coolies by Regulation XI of 1806, but as this was found to lead to the abuses related above, the practice was strictly prohibited by a resolution of the Governor-General in Council dated 24th March 1820. Mr. Trower says, in a letter dated 23rd May 1817: "The complaints against the police and the moonsiffs exceed anything I could have supposed. A regular system of oppression and persecution appears to exist throughout and instead of proving a protection to the country and a preventive against improper conduct, these people are considered the terror and the scourge of the district." "I have always considered the district of Cuttack in this respect the most unfortunate of any in the Company's provinces."

Special police arrangements for the towns

For the towns of Balasore, Cuttack, and Pooree, special police arrangements were made at a monthly cost, in the case of the first and last, of Rs. 108 (sicca), and of the second of Rs. 178 (sicca). This last sum was increased in 1807 to Rs. 200 (sicca) by the appointment of additional burkandazes, and in 1817 to Rs. 400 (sicca) by the establishment in Cuttack town of the five subordinate thanas or outposts of Kafla Bazar, Buxi Bazar, Telinga Bazar, Kutbin Sahi, and Kadamrasul, all of which exist at the present time.

Occupations of the town police

Between 1808 and 1813 the town police appear to have been chiefly engaged in Cuttack, Pooree, and Balasore in affrays with the sepoys of the lines who paraded the town at night and committed various excesses. If the police attempted to capture any sepoy rioter, his comrades came to the rescue and a fight ensued, which was not always bloodless. These affairs led to mutual recriminations between the civil and military authorities; and so serious did the evil become, that guards of sepoys had to be stationed at each thana for the protection of the police from their own comrades. Finally the sepoys were forbidden to enter the town at night. The evil then ceased, and does not appear again after 1821.

Crime in the town of Cuttack

It will readily be understood that theft and burglary flourished unchecked amid this lawlessness. The chowkidars watched the town at night, but with little or no effect for good, and they were consequently abolished in 1818. Mr. Ricketts introduced considerable reforms in 1827 by dividing the town of Cuttack into beats and allotting a certain number of houses in each beat to every burkandaz. The good result of these measures showed itself a in a marked diminution of crime.

JAILS, &c.

Jails

Political prisoners of high rank were, as has been mentioned in Part I, confined in Fort Barabati at Cuttack under charge of the military authorities. Ordinary civil and criminal prisoners were located in huts at Lalbagh – the old lines of the European regiments which took part in the conquest of the province, and other similar buildings near the Magistrate's cutcherry being utilized for the purpose as occasion required. The accommodation was generally insufficient and defective, and the rules in force for keeping different classes of criminals separate from one another could not

be strictly adhered to.

The present Cuttack Jail was not erected until 1810. It was built by contract by one Ram Chandra Shom for Rs. 30,000 (sicca), and was ready for occupation in February 1811. The Balasore Jail was not built until 1816 at a cost of Rs. 4,000 (sicca) only; it was of mud and thatched. The pay of the Jailor of Cuttack was only Rs. 25 (sicca) per mensem.

Diet, & C., of prisoners

The prisoners, instead of their present allowances of food, had a daily diet allowance paid in money, and they purchased whatever they liked from the Jail moodi. The scale for each prisoner was from 2 to 3 pice (sicca) a day, according to the fluctuations of the grain market, up to 1810. In that year it was fixed at 3 pice, and was again raised in 1813 to one anna (sicca). Each prisoner received a yearly supply of clothing and bedding consisting of the following articles :– one blanket, two dhoties, two chadrs, one turban, two mats, and two straw pillows. The total annual charge for the clothing and bedding of each prisoner was limited to Rs. 3 (sicca), and the total yearly cost of his maintenance varied therefore from Rs. 15 to Rs. 25 (sicca) between 1803 and 1828.

Jail administration

The internal administration and management of the Jail was in the hands of the Magistrate, and both he and the Civil Surgeon were bound to visit it at least once a week. The Jail Code was contained in eleven pages, – a striking contrast to the overgrown mass of rules now in force.

Prison labour

In the matter of prison labour profit was made subordinate to punishment, and the prisoners sentenced to public labour had not such an easy time of it as they have now. They wore fetters (at the discretion of the Magistrate,) and worked in gangs on the public roads. At night they were fastened, like a drove of pack-bullocks,

by a chain passing through the rings of their fetters. Those sentenced only to private labour remained inside the Jail and pounded surki and made baskets, gunny, mats, & c. One-fourth of the proceeds of their private labour might, at the Magistrate's discretion, be given to the prisoners as a reward of their industry. The avowed object of public labour was to warn and deter; of private labour, to reform : and the Court specified in their sentences the nature of the labour to be performed. This distinction dates from 1820. On Sundays the prisoners were exempted from labour, "to enable them to clean themselves;" such at least is the reason alleged in the records for the indulgence. The public labour performed by the prisoners during the period under review was chiefly in the town of Cuttack. Tanks were dug and cleaned, marshes drained, and roads and lanes laid out and repaired. Private labour was a failure. No expense of time and temper availed to make it remunerative, and the Magistrate considered that it never could be made so. Jail discipline and management and sanitation did not, as a matter of course, claim in these early times the attention they have since received.

COMMUNICATIONS – ROADS – PUBLIC WORKS, &c

Sea routes to Orissa

The province of Orissa was as early as the 17th century accessible by sea by three main routes. The northern part of the province was tapped by the ports of Pipli on the Subanreekha and Balasore on the Barabalang. Cuttack was reached by the circuitous route from the Dhamrah river via Patamundi, up to which place sloops and brigs were able to come with Government and other stores.

In 1819 an attempt was made to improve and extend the communications by sea by the appointment of a Master-Attendant at Manik-patna on a salary of sicca Rs. 500 per mensem. The first incumbent of the post was Lieutenant Minchin of the Bombay Marines. The object of the appointment was the double one of improving and encouraging trade, and of saving the lives of persons shipwrecked on the coast. The Collector and Salt Agent were

appointed a committee for superintending and controlling the Master-Attendant's department. A Deputy Master-Attendant on sicca Rs. 150 was also appointed to Dhamrah. For the use of the former officer a schooner, named the Eliza, was purchased in 1820 at a cost of Rs. 5,000 (sicca). Two surf boats were constructed at Pooree, and an establishment of boatmen sanctioned to work them. In 1827 a bungalow for the use of the Master-Attendant was built at Manikpatna, and a surf boat also stationed there with a crew.

False Point Light-house

The light-house at False Point was commenced in 1819 under the supervision of Captain Stephens, who fell a victim to the unhealthiness of the climate. After many almost insuperable difficulties had been overcome, of which the chief was that of procuring coolies and supplies, the building was finished, and the first light lit on the 24th May 1826. The first Superintendent was Mr. W. Thompson, who received a salary of (sicca) Rs. 400 per mensem, and was assisted by an assistant on (sicca) Rs. 150; the whole monthly cost of the establishment was over (sicca) Rs. 1,000 per mensem. The advantages of False Point as a harbour and port were not discovered until a comparatively recent date.

All these measures, which were undertaken with a view of improving the trade of the province and reviving its former comparative commercial prosperity, were of little or no avail. The establishment of the Government salt monopoly was a fatal blow to the private export trade which formerly existed, and the internal land communications of the province were so deficient that a new one was not to be so easily or rapidly developed as seems to have been expected by the Government and the local authorities.

Internal communications, roads, & c.

When we took the province in 1803 there was not a road, in the modern sense of the word, in existence. What were then called roads were mere fair-weather cart-tracks, without bridges and without proper ferry arrangements for crossing the numerous water-

courses which they intercepted; they passed, however, for the most part over high ridges of uncultivated land, and were thus more practicable than they would be at the present day, when cultivation had been so enormously extended. The traffic from the south to Cuttack passed along the eastern shore of the Chilka lake, between it and the sea to Pooree, and thence followed exactly the line of the present great Jagannath road. It now all passes through Khurdha along the Ganjam road, the old route being abandoned to Lulia fishermen and antelope. The ruins of the old rest-house for pilgrims still remain, – only visible record of its former existence. Another line from Pooree passed through Khurdha and the Barmul Pass into the Central Provinces via Sumbalpur. Proceeding northwards, the line from Pooree passed through Cuttack, Padampur, Arakpur, and Barambardah to Jajipur (then generally spelt "Jehajpur"), and thence to Bhadrak through Dhamnagar. Thence the line followed as nearly as possible that of the present road. It was not, however, until 1804-05 that this line was adopted. The former route was through Nilgiri and Moharbhanj. It passed in many places through dense jungle infested by tigers and other wild animals, and to keep down these the Mughals and Marathas used to give grants of land rent free to individuals on condition of their reclaiming the grant. Besides the main lines of inland traffic above mentioned, there were also tracks from Cuttack to Tiran via Paharajpur and Hariharpur, to Mutoh in Kanika, and from Dhenkanal to Champapur.

The Jagannath road

The construction of the great Jagannath road was not sanctioned until the year 1811, and in October 1812 Captain Sackville*[37] was appointed as superintendent of the work on a salary of (sicca) Rs. 500 per mensem in addition to his military pay and allowances. His charge extended from the Subanreekha river to Pooree, and he was allowed two European assistants and a monthly establishment of (sicca) Rs. 161, as shown in the margin. This contrasts strangely with the expensive establishments of the present day. He was ordered

not to commence work until the requisite land had been duly made over to him by the revenue authorities; but as it was found impossible to complete the necessary measurements until January 1816, the order was a dead letter. No payment for the land was made until 1818, and the account was not finally settled until 1820. This delay caused much discontent among the landholders, and increased the difficulties which Captain Sackville had to contend with in procuring coolies, supplies, &c[38]. He appears to have carried the new road as much as possible along the old line, and through waste land and jungle.

	Sa. Rs.
Stationery	60
2 Sircars at 15	30
1 Tindal	6
10 Laskars at 5	50
3 Harkaras at 5 ...	15
Total	161

Difficulty of procuring labour

The difficulty of procuring labour was felt most severely between Cuttack and Balasore. Between the former place and Pooree coolies flocked to the works of their own accord. It is not difficult to account for this fact, as the northern part of the province was far more thinly populated than the southern, and certainly contained more waste land. The greater part of the earth-work of the road between Cuttack and Pooree was completed in 1813, but it was not reported as "passable" until 1817. While the road was under construction, and until the earth-work was thoroughly consolidated, a temporary roadway, 35 feet broad, was set apart at the foot of the slopes of the embankment, and no traffic allowed on the raised road.

Bridges

The bridges were built almost entirely of stone taken from the ruined forts and temples in which the province then abounded. Constant quarrels arose between Captain Sackville, who claimed

them as Government property, and the zamindars, who asserted that they belonged to them. It was finally decided, after reference to Government, that they should be paid for. The road between Cuttack and Bhadrak was completed about 1819, and from that place to beyond Balasore in the following year.

Obstruction of drainage

Many complaints were made that it seriously obstructed the drainage of the country and prevented the cultivation of the land by damming up the water on the west and preventing it from flowing to land which required it on the east. It was admitted that sufficient culverts and bridges had not been provided, and they were ordered to be constructed. But there was considerable delay in carrying out these orders, so the people took to cutting the road in many places to let the accumulated water escape. This practice became so prevalent in 1820, especially in the neighbourhood of Bhadrak, that a series of rules were passed by Government with the object of remedying the evil. Any person requiring a culvert was to apply to the Collector by petition. The Collector, after consulting the superintendent of the road, was to forward the petition, with his opinion recorded on it, for the orders of the Commissioner, who had power to order the construction of culverts wherever he thought them necessary. The Magistrate made known these orders by proclamation, and warned the people of the severe penalties which would be incurred by any one resorting to the former practice.

Completion of the Jagannath road

The road was reported to be complete in 1825, and Captain Cheaper was deputed to survey and report on it. It was he who first suggested the metalling of the road, a work which was not completed until a few years ago. In 1826 the road was divided into two parts, and Captain Shortland appointed to the charge of the southern half. In 1827 sarais for the accommodation of pilgrims and travellers were erected at Bhadrak, Akhupada, Balasore, Bastah and Rajghat. The money was given by a Hindu nobleman of Bengal as a means

of assisting pilgrims to Jagannath. He also gave money for numerous bridges on the road, all of which have to this day a stone slab let into the parapet recording his name and munificence in Persian, Sanskrit, Uriya and Bengali. There is one just at the turn of the road south of Kokwakhai, where the Jajipur road turns off, and many between Akhuapada and Balasore. Bungalows were built at Baripur and Balasore. Bungalows had been built at Simliah and Barambardah as early as 1805. Groves of mango and other trees were planted by Government to afford shade to travellers at various places, and the *zamindars* were asked to plant similar topes along the road where it passed through their estates; but few complied with this request.

Churaman Canal

Only one other public work of any great importance was undertaken between 1803 and 1828. This was the Churaman Canal, which was designed for the transport of salt from the Dhamrah and other arranges to Churaman, whence it was shipped to the Calcutta sadr golas direct. It was commenced in June 1825 under the superintendence of a Mr. Schultz, who was succeeded by a Mr. Pennington. The difficulty of procuring coolies was more than the European superintendents could overcome, and the work was therefore finished, as far as it went by a native contractor about 1826, when the project appears to have been abandoned and left unfinished. It was repaired from time to time, but is now for the most part silted up, and a bound was been built across it at Mandari, two miles south of Churaman.

Embankments

The early records give but little information on this important subject. It is clear, however, that from time immemorial the cost of keeping up embankments (or the "pulbandi abwab") had been included in the *jama* payable by *zamindars*, and that the repairs had been executed, when executed at all, solely by them and apparently without any interference on the part of the Government

in power for the time being. At the close of each year the Maratha Government allowed a deduction from the *jama* on account of the repairs executed during the year : whether or not they took any measures to ascertain exactly what sums had been spent by the *zamindars* on these repairs, is not clear. It is probable that they left the matter solely in their hands, trusting that self-interest would lead them to carry out their engagements and responsibilities, at least as regarded their own estates.

When we took the province in 1803 the control and repairs of the most important embankments were at once taken in hand by Government, but at the *zamindars'* expense. The minor embankments appear to have been left under the sole charge of the *zamindars*. It would appear that they had been in the habit of wilfully ignoring their responsibilities and letting the embankments fall into disrepair.

In a petition to Government in 1808, they complain of the increased cost of the Government supervision, and that higher rates are given than those at which they could get the work done. This is explained by the fact that whenever they did any repairs at all, they compelled their ryots to turn out and work either for nothing or at very inadequate rates of payment. They begged that the repairs might again be entrusted to them, and a deduction made on this account from their *jama*, as was the practice under the Marathas. This request was not complied with.

First "Committee of Embankments"

In 1809 a Committee of Embankments, composed of the Judge, the Collector, and the Salt Agent, was constituted under Regulation VI of 1806. Estimates for repairs were submitted by the Collector to the Committee, who, on passing them, forwarded them for sanction to Government. The repairs were carried out by the Collector with the help of native darogahs, whom he could not possibly check or supervise, and the accounts of them submitted for the approval of the Committee. The embankments which had been left in the hands

of the zamindars could, if not repaired and properly kept up by them, be repaired by the Committee at their sole cost. This arrangement does not appear to have worked well, chiefly owing to the want of trustworthy European agency to carry out the orders of the Committee – a defect shortly afterwards remedied by the appointment of Lieutenant Sandys as Superintendent of Embankments. The Committee complained that the Collector did not keep it duly informed of the details of the works, and he retorted that he was obstructed by it in the execution of them. It therefore recommended in 1814 that the petition which the zamindars had given in 1808, and which had already been alluded to, should be granted; but the Government replied that the experiment had been tried in Burdwan with the most disastrous results, and that it was not for a moment to be entertained for Orissa.

In the same year the Court of Directors wrote as follows: "We are concerned to find from the report of the Committee of Embankments in Cuttack, that notwithstanding the large sums which have been annually appropriated by Government to the repairs of the bunds, these works have been shamefully neglected; that the money which should have been applied to their construction and maintenance has been embezzled by the darogarhs; that the ryots, through fear of inundation, have been deterred from undertaking the cultivation of waste lands; and that the *zamindars* have been disabled by the destruction of their crops from paying the revenue for which they had engaged." In January 1807 the Collector writes: "The bunds constructed by Lieutenant Sandys were the only good and substantial ones in the southern division. The smaller ones, though generally estimated for, are repaired by the *zamindars* themselves. The ryots employed by the *zamindards* on bund work receive 3 pans of cowries a day, which at the selling rate of cowries is less than (sicca) Re. 1 a month, and they are satisfied with this.* [39] During the short time we have been in possession of this province the embankments have cost Government the enormous sum of (sicca) Rs. 4,29,000 (Co's Rs.

4,57,600), a sum sufficient to build up every bund anew from its foundation."* [40]

For the better supervision of these works the province was in 1818 divided into two parts, and Mr. R. Becher was appointed Superintendent of Embankments in the northern, and Mr. Peach in the southern division. Mr. Ince, the assistant to the superintendent of the Jagannath road, had charge of the Rahang embankments, and drew for this work an extra allowance of Rs. 100 (sicca) per mensem. In 1819 the functions of the Committee of Embankments were transferred to the divisional Commissioner, the accounts and records being kept partly in the Magistrate's and partly in the Collector's office until December 1822, when they were all deposited in the latter.

Repair of revetment

In the same year the stone revetment which protects the town of Cuttack from periodical inundation, and which is said to have been originally constructed in A.D. 1006 by Markat Kesari, and subsequently restored and repaired by the Marathas, urgently required repair, and Mr. J. Blechynden was appointed to supervise the work.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS

A short notice of the chief public buildings in Cuttack may not be out of place in this chapter.

Collector's cutcherry

Up to the year 1806 the Collector drew a monthly allowance and provided his own cutcherry, which he held in his private residence. This arrangement leading to much inconvenience, the Government purchased in 1806 Mr. Groeme's residence and converted it into a public cutcherry. It was situated within the limits of cantonments, on the south bank of the Mahanadi, but I am unable to fix the exact site. Here it remained until 1818, when further accommodation being required, the Government purchased

for Rs. 7,500 (sicca) Mr. Trower's residence on the site of the present Telegraph Office. In 1828 this building was converted into a church by pulling down the dividing walls, and the Collector's office was removed to the building in which it is now located, and which had been purchased by Government from Mr. Pakenham in 1825 and considerably altered. It was originally built by Mr. Impey, the Judge, as his private residence, and from the proceedings of a court of inquiry appointed in 1820 to investigate his conduct, it would appear that he procured stone for his building from the old forts at Sarangarh, with masons and other labourers to work it up, by means of parwanas issued on the police.

Judge's cutcherry

The Judge held his cutcherry up to October 1814 in the old Maratha palace and cutcherry, which were situated between the present Collectorate offices and the residence of the Commissioner at Lalbagh, which latter was built as his private residence by Mr. Becher, the Salt Agent of the southern division. It was here that both the Mughal and Maratha subahdars held their court; and a Mr. Cartwright, who in 1632 paid a visit to the "Governor of Coteke" (sic), described his residence as the "stately court of Malcandy," whatever thay may mean.* [41] Captain Sackville gives the following description of these buildings as they existed in 1812: "Both the cutcherries were built as such by the Marathas about twenty-five years ago, and consisted of one room nearly square and built entirely of stone. These rooms had one face open to the north-east, with a terrace fronting and the rest enclosed by walls 2 feet thick, which, with intermediate pillars, supported the roof and formed spacious rooms very well adapted for the purpose for which they were built." The alterations made by the English not having been pucka, white-ants got into the roof and walls, and did such damage that the building was rendered unsafe; and this led to the construction in 1813 of the present Judge's cutcherry, which was first occupied in October 1814.

I find no mention of the Commissioner's cutcherry in the records of the period under review – for 1803 to 1828 – and the present building was probably not built until after the latter year.

TRADE–PRICES–WAGES, &c.

Export trade

From the fact that the Dutch, French, Danes, and English, all established factories there about the middle of the seventeenth century, it is evident that Orissa was once a province of more commercial importance than when we took it. The first English settlement at Pipli on the Subanreekha was established as early as 1634 A.D.

The incursions and oppressions of the Marathas soon put an end to whatever commercial prosperity the province may once have possessed, and the trade in rice and salt, which had survived Maratha misrule, was considerably diminished when the Government asserted its right to the monopoly of the latter article.

When we took the province, however, considerable quantities of these articles were still exported from the ports of Balasore, Dhamrah, and Churaman, which were chiefly frequented by three kinds of crafts, viz. (1) Maldive vessels, which brought cowries, cocoanuts, coral, and dried fish, and took back rice and earthen pots; (2) sloops which carried the Government salt to Calcutta; and (3) sloops, called "hollas" built at Contai and Hidgellee, which only came in the cold season and carried rice to Calcutta. The Rajah of Kanika carried on a considerable trade in rice on his own account, and large numbers of swine and horned cattle found their way by land to the Calcutta market. The export trade, however, gradually dwindled down to a fraction of its former importance. Writing in 1813, the Collector says: "The only articles exported are rice and a little salt, about three lakhs' worth. Trade is hardly now known even by name." Whatever there was confined to the district of Balasore.

Internal trade

The internal trade of the province, if it may be so called, was limited to the supply of rice and other articles of every-day use or consumption to the larger towns, and to the mutual exchange of surplus produce and articles of home manufacture at the hats or markets in the interior. An attempt was made, in consequence of a local scarcity in Pooree, in 1804 to open out a trade with Ganjam. The Collector of that place was asked to call the principal merchants together and take their opinion on the subject. They all, however, "with one voice declined taking grain to so uncertain a market on their own account, as they must do it to an evident loss."

Supply of grain to the towns

The grain markets, in Cuttack and Pooree especially, were in the hands then, as now, of the dandidars and beparis, who so regulated the supplies coming into the town as to keep up prices. When the rivers rose to an unusual height, or the crops failed to any considerable extent, the difficulty which the inhabitants of Cuttack experienced in getting food was extreme. The military authorities were constantly representing to the civil officers the difficulties they had in getting supplies for the troops. They asserted that they had often to go without sufficient food for several days together, and declared that unless this state of affairs were remedied, the sepoys would lose all sense of discipline, and setting their authority at defiance, plunder the grain shops in the town of Cuttack. The Collector says on this subject: "From some unaccountable cause the villagers are averse to bring their grain to Cuttack, in consequence of which the inhabitants are frequently several days without food."

In consequence of these complaint the Collector was authorized in 1805 to advance a sum of (sicca) Rs. 10,000 for the purpose of purchasing and storing a supply of rice for the town of Cuttack and for the military or cantonment bazaar. A godown was built for the storage of this large stock, and a public market established for its

sale on the site of the present Chandni Chauk. Mr. Beames has kindly furnished me the following note on this subject, extracted from the Balasore records:

"Cuttack now begins to be noticeable, as it is at frequent intervals throughout the early years of British rule as a place in constant want of supplies and always on the verge of famine. On 1st December 1803 an urgent call is made for 15,000 maunds of rice from Balasore; again on the 1st June 1804 Captain Morgan is ordered to warn all pilgrims of the great scarcity of rice and cowries at Cuttack, and to endeavour to induce them to supply themselves with provisions before entering the province; on the 1st September 1804 a third call is made on Balasore for 20,000 maunds of rice, which were accordingly despatched in boats from Dhamrah and Churaman. A long correspondence follows, in the course of which occurs an important letter of Captain Morgan's, dated 27th September, and marked 'private,' in which he explains the cause of the continual scarcity at Cuttack.

"He begins by pointing out that twenty miles north of the Mahanadi there was no scarcity at all; that Balasore had rice in store enough for three years' consumption, and it was selling at 65 seers (of 80 tolahs) for the rupee : there were immense stocks at Dhamrah and Churaman intended for export to Madras, and consequently he concludes that the scarcity of rice at Cuttack is not natural, but must have been artificially produced. In examining the causes for this state of things, he arrives at the following conclusions :–

"1. The large number of Marathas still resident at Cuttack are bitterly hostile to the English, and do their best to stop the import of rice in the hope of starving us out. They have ceased to import from Sambalpore, as they used to, for the same reason; and having long had relations with the ryots, many of whom still hold their advances for grain unliquidated, they are able to prevent them from bringing in grain to Cuttack.

"2. The ryots have hitherto always been accustomed to give up nothing until they were compelled. The Marathas took what they wanted by force, and the ryots did not understand our wild method

of asking for and paying for what we wanted; they took it for weakness, and were so elated at their release from oppression, that they thought themselves quite independent and would do nothing to oblige any one.

"3. The amils were in league against us, as they had for a long time taken advantage of their position to hold the lion's share of the profitable export trade to Madras, and did not wish to sell in Cuttack.

"4. The commissariat officers were shamefully inert and incompetent, and notwithstanding all the above drawbacks, could, if they would only exert themselves, collect a much larger supply than they did. Colonel Harcourt appears to have taken some effective steps to remedy this state of things, for no further rice was required from Balasore during 1804 to 1805."

Land was offered rent-free in perpetuity to any merchants who would establish grain shops near the site of the public market. It was at this time, and in consequence of this offer, that a row of houses arose on either side of Chandni Chauk, some of which exist in a dilapidated condition to the present day. The old pucka building at the south-west end of the street, still used as a grain market, was not built until 1823.

Scarcity in 1806 – Failure of rains

These measures gave temporary relief to the inhabitants, but in the following year (1806) the grain market appears to have been tighter than ever, owing to the total failure of the rains between 17th September and 18th November, and the consequent loss of crops. The complaints and remonstrances of the military authorities became more frequent in number and almost offensive in tone.

The Magistrate in despair ordered that all the grain brought into the town should be sold at the public market only, and police were stationed at the various ghats to enforce this order. This measure, however, only defeated itself and played into the hands of the dandidars and beparis, who gave out that the Magistrate intended to seize and confiscate all the grain brought into the town

and distribute it to the troops gratis. The zamindars were also ordered to send in supplies from the interior. These measures were severely condemned by the Governor-General in Council, and their future discontinuance insisted on.

Scarcity of 1807 – Floods

In July of the following year (1807) the usual lightness of the grain market was enhanced by exceedingly high floods, which cut off temporarily communication between Cuttack and the interior. The usual recriminations ensued between the civil and military authorities, and the latter seem to have somewhat exaggerated the difficulties of the situation. In a report to Government dated 6th July 1807, the Collector says: "The town of Cuttack depends chiefly on the wholesale dealers or beparis for supplies of grain, so that when the intercourse is obstructed by temporary inundation, the troops and inhabitants are forced to purchase from the moodis or retailers. The price is consequently enhanced, and the augmentation producing a degree of discontent, the existence of a scarcity is industriously circulated and stubbornly believed." The pressure was always greatest during the months of July, August, and September, on account of the difficulties of transit from the interior, and also because the zamindars and mofussil *mahajans* were unwilling to dispose of their surplus produce until the safety was assured of the crop then on the ground.

Scarcity of 1809

Another partial failure of the rice crop occurred in 1809, and prices being from 8 to 10 seers higher than usual, all the former difficulties were revived. The merchants, profiting by experience, bought up all the grain on which they could lay their hands. The Magistrate, in the hope of avoiding previous difficulties, advanced sicca Rs. 1,000 from his own pocket to purchase supplies for the use of the troops. When this news got abroad, the grain dealers industriously circulated a report that the person employed by the Magistrate to purchase grain in the interior had an absolute monopoly of the whole supply of the province. He had therefore to

be recalled. The moodis attached to the cantonment bazaar then resorted to the expedient of proceeding out of the town to meet the beparis coming in with supplies, which they thus procured at a lower rate than that which the former could command at the public market. The beparis then declared that they would not come with grain to the town unless this practice was put a stop to. This was done, and stringent orders were issued by the Government officers with the grain market.

Appointment of bazaar chaudhari

In 1818, when Mr. Turnbull was Magistrate, he granted a parwana to one Gaurhari Chaudhari, appointing him bazaar chaudhari. This person at once began to levy fees on the moodis, or retail dealers, at the rate of one to two annas a month, and also compelled them to pay reteably the losses incurred by the jail moodi in supplying the prisoners at the fixed Government rates. In 1821 the office of the bazaar chaudhari was abolished, and a proclamation was issued declaring the freedom of trade and the absence of all restrictions affecting the grain market. These measures had the desired effect, and no more is heard up to 1828 of any great difficulty in procuring supplies either for the troops or the inhabitants of the town. For a price list of several years, see Appendix No. III.

Wages

Besides the subject of supplies of grain and other food staples to the town of Cuttack, the question of wages was frequently in dispute. It was the custom for the Magistrate to give a *nirakh* for the price of labour as well as of food. It was not originally intended that this *nirakh* should be anything more than the publication for general information of the rates current in the labour market and in the bazaar; but in the absence of free trade it became a matter of general belief that these rates were held binding on hirer and labourer, on buyer and seller. The practice was in accordance with this belief. As the Marathas had been in the habit of impressing labourers and paying them, if at all, whatever they thought fit, the practice of

fixing a *nirakh* was looked upon with favour rather than otherwise by all parties concerned. It was only when it was changed that any disputes arose.

Thus in 1806, when the Magistrate raised the rates for labour, owing probably to the dearness of food, a number of coolies at work within the fort at the old rates struck work and demanded the benefit of the increase according to the nirakh fixed by the then Magistrate. The military authorities, who were the employers, offered only the rates fixed by the Magistrate's predecessor, and wrote indignantly to the Magistrate demanding that the coolies should be punished for "contumacy." The Magistrate pointed out that the *nirakhnama* was not binding on either party, the old custom of making it so having been abolished by the extension to Orissa of the Bengal regulations. The military authorities failed to see the matter in this light, and a long and rather warm correspondence ensued, which was finally referred to the Governor-General in Council.

It was then laid down that the publication of a table of current prices and rates of wages was to be continued, but that it was not to be in any way binding on any one, or subversive of the principles of free trade.

From the Magistrate's *nirakhnama* of 1805, I have been able to extract the following rates current in that year. The currency is the sicca rupee.

Bricklayers, iron smiths, carpenters, thatchers, tailors, and syces, got Rs. 3; and sawyers, stone-cutters, tailors, Rs. 4 per mensem; grass-cutters, sweepers, and other inferiors, Rs. 2. Palki-bearers, if hired by the month, were paid at a monthly rate of Rs. 2-8 when halting, and Rs. 3-8 when marching. If hired by the stage, they only got 2 annas for the job. Ordinary male coolies, if hired by the month, got Rs. 2-8, and women and boys Rs. 1-14. The daily rate for male coolies was 1 anna 10 pies, and for boys and females, about 1 anna or a little less.

The above daily rates had increased in 1814 from 2 annas to 3 annas per stage for palki-bearers, and from 1 anna 10 pie to 2 annas

per diem for coolies. In 1812 an indignant traveller complains against the darogah of Bhadrak for having extorted the exorbitant sum of 4 annas a day for coolies. In 1814 the daily hire in Cuttack of a bullock-cart was 4 annas, and the same for a pack bullock. For a journey from Cuttack to Balasore the hire of a bullock-cart was Rs. 5; to Midnapore, Rs. 10. For a pack bullock for the same journeys the rate was exactly half. These rates must have left a considerable margin of profit to the owner, as the Magistrate in 1817 says a man and two bullocks could live in the mofussil for 1½ annas a day. For other prices, &c., see Appendix III.

Attempts to develop the material resource of the country

It remains to mention under the section several attempts which were made at various times between 1803 and 1828 to develop and improve the material resources of the country.

Minerals

In 1810 a Mr. Andrew Duncan obtained the permission of the Governor-General in Council to investigate the mineral resources of the country between Balasore and Beerbhoom, and the Government officers in Orissa were ordered to afford him every assistance in their power. As far as Orissa is concerned, nothing came of this project.

Indigo

About 1815 a Mr. Wilkinson established himself inside the old fort of Raibama, seven miles north of Jellasore, as an indigo planter, and the ruins of his vats are still to be seen. He was involved in constant disputes with the Rajah of Moharbhanj, in which the authorities were against him. The undertaking consequently failed, and was abandoned. There was another factory on the north of the Subanreekha, in the town of Jellasore, part of the buildings of which are now used as the Government post-office. The question of reviving the manufacture on behalf of Government was mooted in 1817. It was thought that as a plant like indigo grew wild in several

of the Garjat estates, e.g. Moharbhanj, Dhenkanal, and Keonjhur, it might pay to cultivate it. Nothing, however, was done.

Cotton

In 1825 an attempt was made to introduce the cultivation of Bourbon cotton. The site selected for the experiment was a piece of land, about 200 acres in extent, at the bifurcation of the Birupa and Mahanadi rivers, near the site of the present bungalow at Jagatpur. The land was rented at Re. 1 per acre and cleared of jungle. The most sanguine expectations of success were entertained, the estimated out turn being 200 maunds at sicca Rs. 20 per maund. The actual out turn was, however, only 36 maunds, and after costing about sicca Rs. 1,500, the experiment was abandoned as a failure, and was not repeated.

Wild ganja or patti, sugarcane, tobacco and other crops, have all been "officially cultivated" at various times, but none ever proved a success.

FOOT NOTES :

*[34] In Balasore district, near Bhadrak.

*[35] Joint-Magistrate, Balasore, to Magistrate of Cuttack, 8th October 1816.

*[36] Foujdari manuscript records, 2nd September 1806.

*[37] This officer made the first map of the province in 1813.

†[38] For a statement of lands taken for the Jagannath road, vide Vol. XV, Collectorate Letters Sent. The total amount of land taken up between Balasore and Cuttack was 1,698 beegahs; the amount of revenue remitted on this account, Rs. 3,615 (sicca) yearly. North of Balasore the road followed the old line, and no compensation appears to have been given for much of it.

*[39] The contract rate paid by Government was in 1817 sicca Re. 1, and in 1818 sicca Rs. 1-4, per 1,000 cubic feet.

*[40] Manuscript recods, Cuttack, 17th January 1817

*[41] Sterling's account of Orissa, page 29.

APPENDIX - I.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Regulation under which settlement was made	Period of settlement	For what years current	Average yearly jama of each settlement in company's rupees	Increase made at each settlement to the average annual jama in company's rupees	Percentage of the average annual jama collected yearly during the currency of each settlement	Average number of estates sold each year during the currency of each settlement by public auction for arrears of revenue	Total sadr jama of the estates mentioned in column 7, in Company's rupees	Average number of estates sold by private sale each year during the currency of each settlement	Sadr jama of the estates mentioned in column 9 in Company's rupees.
Regulation XII of 1805	One year	A.D. 1804-05 Amli 1212	13,14,825	...	*	*	...	...	...
Ditto	Three years	A.D. 1805-06 to 1807-08 Amli 1213 to 1215	14,35,354	1,20,529	94	132	1,66213	69†	96,073
Regulation VI of 1808	One year	A.D. 1808-09 Amli 1216	14,38,912	3,558	95	91	21,410	66	81,728
Ditto	Three years	A.D. 1809-10 to 1811-12 Amli 1217 to 1219	15,02,954	64,042	84	90	68,280	133	1,53,233
Regulations XIII of 1811 and 1 of 1813	One year	A.D. 1812-13 Amli 1220	15,51,893	48,939	70	50	40666	132	1,43,572
Ditto	Two years	A.D. 1813-14 to 1814-15 Amli 1221 to 1222	15,75,252	23,359	72	54	30,086	84	80,986
Regulation III of 1815	One year	A.D. 1815-16 Amli 1223	16,16,561	41,309	65	94	67,027	99	1,02,629
Regulation VI of 1816	Three years	A.D. 1816-17 to 1818-19 Amli 1224 to 1226	16,37,924	21,463	27	44	36,614	*	*
Regulation XIII of 1818	Ditto	A.D. 1819-20 to 1821-22 Amli 1230 to 1234	15,27,834	*	*	6	2,949		
Regulation VII of 1822	Five years	A.D. 1822-23 to 1827-28 Amli 1230 to 1234	15,89,585	61,751		...	...		

*No figures available. †Two years' average. *Decrease of Rs. 1,10,090.

N.B. - The figures in this statement are based on the enclosures of a letter from Collector to Board of Revenue, dated 23rd May 1817.

APPENDIX II

Alphabetical List of Officers who served in Orissa from 1803 to 1828.			
Name	Date of Appointment	Nature of Appointment	Remarks
Analie, M...	8th July 1814	Acting Judge and Magistrate of Cuttack	
	22nd Nov. 1814	Register of Zillah Court of Cuttack	
Barwell, A.C.	4th June 1813	Assistant to Salt Agent,	
	19th Feb. 1814	Cuttack, or Ditto ditto	Southern agency Northern ditto
	1827	Acting Collector of Cuttack	
	14th Feb. 1828	Salt Agent, Cuttack	
Bacher, C.	26th Dec. 1811	Salt Agent and Collector of Customs, Cuttack.	
Blunt, W.	31st May 1816	Superintendent of Police in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa	
	4th Feb. 1820	Commissioner of Cuttack	
Buller, C.	2nd Sept. 1808	Settlement Commissioner, Cuttack	Member of Board of Revenue
Cartwright, C.N.	1825	Acting Joint-Magistrate and Deputy Collector, Balasore.	
Calvin, A.J.	24th Jan. 1815	Register of Cuttack Zilllah Court, and Joint-Magistrate at Balasore.	Subsequently transferred to North-West Provinces.
Det. W.	28th April, 181	Assistant to the Secretary to the Commissioenr in Cuttack.	
	21st Jan 1820	Officiating Register and Assistant to Magistrate of Cuttack.	
	12th May 1820	Acting Joint-Magistrate and Deputy collector at Balasore	
	19th March 1824	Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector at Khurdha.	
	1824	Acting Collector of Cuttack.	
	2nd June 1825	Assistant to Salt Agent and Officiating Secretary to Commissioner.	
	29th June 1826	Joint-Magistrate and Deputy Collector, Balasore	
Ever Walter	28th March 1817	Special Commissioner for Khurdha riots.	Also acted as Judge and Magistrate for a short time
Far quier F.	26th Feb 1808	Collector of Cuttuck	

APPENDIX II. (contnd.)

Name	Date of Appointment	Nature of Appointment	Remarks
Forrester, W	17th Dec. 1816	Register of Zillah Court and Joint Magistrate of Balasore	Committed suicide at Cuttack, January 1827.
	21st July 1818	Deputy Collector and Joint-Magistrate at Khurdha.	
	4th Feb. 1820	Judge and Magistrate of Cuttack	
Groeme, C	16th June 1804	Judge, Magistrate and Collector of the Southern Division of Cuttack.	
Hurtwell, G	1803	First Assistant to the Commissioners For settling the affairs of Cuttack.	
	16th June 1804	Register to the Judge and Magistrate of the Northern Division.	
	29th Augt. 1805	Register of Judge and Magistrate of Cuttack.	
Hunter, J	9th Sept. 1803	Second Assistant to the Commissioner for settling affairs of Cuttack.	Deputed as Collector to Pooree
	16th June, 1804	Register to Judge and Magistrate, Southern Division.	
	27th Feb. 1806	Collector of the tax on pilgrims.	
Hunter, R.	23rd October 1828	Magistrate and Collector of the Central or Cuttack Division of Cuttack.	Became Commissioner in 1832
Impey, E.	13th May 1814	Judge and Magistrate of Cuttack and Superintendent of Tributary Mahals.	Suspended 30th July 1819; dismissed the service, 27th November 1822
Ker, Robert	16th June 1804*	Judge, Magistrate, and Collector of Northern or Balasore Division	Was the first incumbent of all three appointments.
	29th Augt. 1805	Judge and Magistrate of Zillah Cuttack.	
	28th April 1818	Commissioner of Cuttack	*Did not take charge until 19th November 1804
King J.	10th Dec. 1805	Salt Agent and Collector of Customs, Cuttack.	
Melville, Hon'ble W.L.	16th Sept. 1817	Acting Joint-Magistrate of Cuttack	Also acted for a short time as Judge and Magistrate of Cuttack, and as Joint-Magistrate of Balasore durign second half of the year 1817.
	30th Augt. 1819	Ditto ditto at Pooree	

Name	Date of Appointment	Nature of Appointment	Remarks
Middleton, C.J.	1824	Acting Judge and Magistrate of Cuttack.	
Mitford, R.	20th July, 1810	Officiating Collector of Cuttack.	
Pakenham,	3rd Sept. 1819	Collector of Cuttack	
Thos.	3rd Jan. 1828	Commissioner of Cuttack	
	8th March 1827	Judge and Magistrate of Cuttack.	
Richardson, J	1813	Settlement Commissioner in Cuttack	Member of Revenue Board.
Ricketts, H.	4th Jan. 1827	Joint-Magistrate and Deputy Collector at Balasore.	
	23rd Oct. 1828	Magistrate and Collector of Northern or Balasore Division.	Became Commissioner of Cuttack in 1836.
Sage. J.		Officiating Judge and Magistrate of Cuttack	Continually under suspension
Sterling, A.	10th Oct. 1817	Secretary to Commissioner of Cuttack	Also acted for a short time as Collector of Cuttack
Stockwell, Geo	1st March 1829	Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit of the 19th or Cuttack Division.	
Trower, W.	8th Feb. 1812	Collector of Cuttack	Held the office for six years.
Turnbull, M.H.	28th April 1818	Officiating Judge and Magistrate of Cuttack.	
Ward, W.C.	27th Feb. 1809	Register of Zillah Court of Cuttack	
	11th Sept. 1813	Officiating Judge and Magistrate, District Cuttack.	
Ward, J.P.	29th July 1814	Acting Collector of Cuttack.	
Waring, E.S.	5th Jan. 1811	Collector of Cuttack.	
	28th April 1818	Assistant to Magistrate of Cuttack	
	4th Feb. 1820	Joint-Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Khurdha.	
Wilkinson, W.	19th March 1824	Joint-Magistrate and Deputy Collector at Balasore.	
	23rd Oct. 1828	Collector and Magistrate of Southern or Pooree Division of Cuttack.	
Warde, G.	Sept. 1808	Assistant to Settlement Commissioner* in Cuttack.	*Mr. Buller
	1813	Secretary to Settlement Commissioner† in Cuttack	Mr. Richardson
Webb. Geo	18th July 1805	Collect of Cuttack	
	26th Feb. 1808	Judge and Magistrate of Cuttack	

APPENDIX III

Table of wholesale rates current in the Mofussil for various articles of common consumption between the years 1811 and 1817, as furnished by the Police Darogahs; with prices of various other miscellaneous articles.

Article	No. of Cuttack seers of 105 tolahs per sicca rupee							
	1811	1812	1813	1814	1815	1816	1817	Average
Arooa rice, 1st quality	36	39	29	24	28	31	25	30
Ditto, 2nd quality	32	46	31	29	38	33	31	34
Usna rice, 1st quality	42	47	34	29	37	35	33	36
Ditto, 2nd quality	47	51	36	32	46	42	37	41
Paddy	97	112	83	78	85	100	75	90
Dal (harara)	14	15	17	18	19	21	15	17
Dal (moong)	12	18	18	20	27	26	19	20
Biri (kalai)	39	43	42	40	33	33	26	36

	Sicca			
	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.	Rs. A.
Salt per maund of 105 tolahs	40	40	40	40
Ghee ditto ditto	175	186	200	189

	Sicca			
	Rs.	A	P	
Cotton, per maund of 80 tolahs	18	0	0	Rs. 80 and Rs. 40, according to quality.
Cotton yarn, ditto	120	0	0	
Sugar, ditto	8	0	0	
Betelnuts, ditto	6	8	0	
Common lamp oil, ditto	9	0	0	
Cocoanut oil ditto	20	0	0	
Tobacco, ditto	4	0	0	to Rs. 6.
Country blankets, each	1	8	0	to Rs. 2-8.
Gunny bags	0	2	0	
Raw hides	0	12	0	
Coconuts, per 1,000	25	0	0	

Bengal paper, six quires per rupee.
Surki, thre maunds of 105 of tolahs per rupee.
Lime, four maunds of 105 tolahs per rupee.
Bamboos, Rs. 2-8 per 1,000.
Rope, Rs. 8 per maund (Cuttack weight).
Stone masonry on revetment (contract), Rs. 25 per 1,000 cubic feet.
Earth-worth and turfing, Rs. 5 per 1,000 cubic feet.

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G. Toynbee worked as Revenue Superintendent of Cuttack.

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